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THE SEA-BOARD SLAVE STATES.

(Resumed from our last.)

It is said that in Cuba the average deductions, on account of illness, incapacity, age, &c., from the working stock of negroes employed on plantations, averages forty per cent. Mr. Olmsted does not give us the percentage in Virginia, but leaves us to infer that it must be considerable, and, consequently, that the amount of capital invested in slaves must be subject to an inordinate rate of interest. The whole of this part of the chapter we are now quoting from is highly interesting to the political economist. He thus proceeds to comment on

THE MALADIES AND DISORDERS OF SLAVES.

"The liability of women, especially, to disorders and irregularities which cannot be detected by exterior symptoms, but which may be easily aggravated into serious complaints, renders many of them nearly valueless for work, because of the ease with which they can impose upon their owners. 'The women on a plantation,' said one extensive Virginia slaveowner to me, 'will hardly earn their salt, after they come to the breeding age: they don't come to the field, and you go to the quarters and ask the old nurse what's the matter, and she says, "Oh, she's not well, master; she's not fit to work, Sir;" and what can you do? You have to take her word for it that something or other is the matter with her, and you dare not set her to work; and so she lays up till she feels like taking the air again, and plays the lady at your expense.'

"I was on one plantation where a woman had been excused from any sort of labour for more than two years, on the supposition that she was dying of phthisis. At last, the

overseer discovered that she was employed as a milliner and dressmaker by all the coloured ladies of the vicinity, and, upon taking her to the house, it was found that she had acquired a remarkable skill in these vocations. She was hired out the next year to a fashionable dressmaker in town at handsome wages, and as, after that, she did not again 'raise blood,' it was supposed that when she had done so before it had been by artificial means. Such tricks every army and navy surgeon is familiar with.

"The interruption and disarrangement of operations of labour, occasioned by slaves 'running away,' frequently causes great inconvenience and loss to those who employ them. It is said to often occur when no immediate motive can be guessed at for it—when the slave has been well treated, well fed, and not overworked; and when he will be sure to suffer hardship from it, and be subject to severe punishment on his return, or if he is caught.

"This is often mentioned to illustrate the ingratitude and especial depravity of the African race. I should suspect it to be, if it cannot be otherwise accounted for, the natural instinct of freedom in a man, working out capriciously, as the wild instincts of domesticated beasts and birds sometimes do.

"But the learned Dr. Cartwright, of the University of Louisiana, believes that slaves are subject to a peculiar form of mental disease, termed by him *Drapetomania*, which, like a malady that cats are liable to, manifests itself by an irrestrainable propensity to *run away*; and, in a work on the diseases of negroes, highly esteemed at the South for its patriotism and erudition, he advises planters of the proper preventive and curative measures to be taken for it.

"He asserts that 'with the advantage of

proper medical advice, strictly followed, this troublesome practice of running away, that many negroes have, can be almost entirely prevented. Its symptoms, and the usual empirical practice on the plantations, are described—'Before negroes run away, unless they are frightened or panic-struck, they become sulky and dissatisfied. The cause of this sulkiness and dissatisfaction should be inquired into and removed, or they are apt to run away or fall into the negro consumption.' When sulky or dissatisfied without cause, the experience of those having most practice with *Drapetomania*, the doctor thinks, has been in favour of 'whipping them out of it.' It is vulgarly called 'whipping the devil out of them,' he afterwards informs us.

"Another droll sort of 'indisposition,' thought to be peculiar to the slaves, and which must greatly affect their value, as compared with free labourers, is described by Dr. Cartwright as follows:

"*DYSÆTHESIA ÆTHIOPICA*, or Hebetude of Mind and Obtuse Sensibility of Body. . . . From the careless movements of the individuals affected with this complaint, they are apt to do much mischief which appears as if intentional, but is mostly owing to the stupidity of mind and insensibility of the nerves induced by the disease. Thus, they break, waste, and destroy every thing they handle; abuse horses and cattle; tear, burn, or rend their own clothing; and, paying no attention to the rights of property, steal others to replace what they have destroyed. They wander about at night, and keep in a half-nodding state by day. They slight their work—cut up corn, cane, cotton, and tobacco, when hoeing it, as if for pure mischief. They raise disturbances with their overseers, and among their fellow-servants, without cause or motive, and seem to be insensible to pain when subjected to punishment.

"When left to himself, the negro indulges in his natural disposition to idleness and sloth, and does not take exercise enough to expand his lungs and vitalize his blood, but dozes out a miserable existence in the midst of filth and uncleanness, being too indolent, and having too little energy of mind, to provide for himself proper food and comfortable clothing and lodging. The consequence is, that the blood becomes so highly carbonized and deprived of oxygen, that it not only becomes unfit to stimulate the brain to energy, but unfit to stimulate the nerves of sensation distributed to the body. . . .

"This is the disease called *dysæsthesia* (a Greek term expressing the dull or obtuse sensation that always attends the complaint). When roused from sloth by the stimulus of hunger, he takes any thing he can lay his hands on, and tramples on the rights as well as on the property of others with perfect indifference. When driven to labour by the compulsive power of the white man, he performs the task assigned to him in a headlong, careless manner, treading down with his feet, or cutting with his hoe, the plants he is put to cultivate, breaking the tools he works with, and spoiling every thing he touches that can be injured by careless handling. Hence the overseers call it "rascality," supposing that the mischief is intentionally done. . . .

"The term "rascality," given to this disease by overseers, is founded on an erroneous hypo-

thesis, and leads to an incorrect empirical treatment, which seldom or never cures it."

"There are many complaints described in Dr. Cartwright's treatise, to which the negroes in Slavery seem to be peculiarly subject.

"More fatal than any other is congestion of the lungs, *peripneumonia notha*, often called cold plague, &c. . . .

"The *frambesia*, Piam, or Yaws, is a contagious disease, communicable by contact among those who greatly neglect cleanliness. It is supposed to be communicable, in a modified form, to the white race, among whom it resembles pseudo syphilis, or some disease of the nose, throat, or larynx. . . .

"Negro-consumption, a disease almost unknown to medical men of the Northern States and of Europe, is also sometimes fearfully prevalent among the slaves. It is of importance, (says the Doctor,) to know the pathognomic signs in its early stages, not only in regard to its treatment, but to detect impositions, as negroes afflicted with this complaint are often for sale: the acceleration of the pulse on exercise incapacitates them for labour, as they quickly give out, and have to leave their work. This induces their owners to sell them, although they may not know the cause of their inability to labour. Many of the negroes brought South for sale are in the incipient stages of this disease: they are found to be inefficient labourers, and are sold in consequence thereof. The effect of superstition—a firm belief that he is poisoned or conjured—upon the patient's mind, already in a morbid state (*dyæsthesia*), and his health affected from hard usage, over-tasking, or exposure, want of wholesome food, good clothing, warm, comfortable lodging, with the distressing idea (sometimes) that he is an object of hatred or dislike, both to master or fellow-servants, and has no one to befriend him, tends directly to generate that erythism of mind which is the essential cause of negro-consumption. . . . Remedies should be assisted by removing the *original cause* of the dissatisfaction or trouble of mind, and by using every means to make the patient comfortable, satisfied, and happy."

"Longing for home generates a distinct malady, known to physicians as *Nostalgia*, and there is an analogy between the treatment commonly employed to cure it and that recommended in this last advice of Dr. Cartwright which is very suggestive."

THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE ON THE DRED SCOTT CASE.

THE following masterly exposition of the new doctrine laid down by the majority of Judges in the case of Dred Scott is taken from the *New-York Tribune*. We commend it to the attentive perusal of our readers:

"The slaveholders' majority in the Supreme Court of the United States, under pretence of deciding that the justice to be administered by the Federal Courts—except, indeed, in the way of punishment—does not extend to coloured men, has undertaken to put forth an extra-judicial opinion of a much more comprehensive character. The doctrine laid down in this slaveholders' decision is, that the Constitution of the United States expressly and directly recognises negroes

as property, and only as property, and property, too, in precisely the same sense in which cattle or household goods are property.

"Now, this doctrine of this slaveholding bench is not merely an innovation upon what has hitherto been understood among lawyers and statesmen to be the position of the Constitution of the United States on the question of Slavery: it carries the doctrine of property in slaves to a point beyond that ever before attempted by any Court, or even laid down extra-judicially in the feed opinion of any respectable lawyer.

"If the Constitution of the United States, instead of maintaining, as it does, a cautious reserve and non-committal position on the subject of Slavery; if, instead of its phraseology having been selected, as we know it was, with an express view to avoiding any recognition of property in man, it had in express terms recognised such property; nevertheless, in the use of that term, property, in such a connexion, the Federal Constitution must, according to any reasonable construction, have been understood to use it in that limited and qualified sense in which alone, among jurists—prior to this opinion of the five slaveholding judges in the Dred Scott case—the term property ever had been applied to human beings.

"Now, it has always been held by lawyers that the right of property in a slave is a right to his labour only—a right of precisely a similar character to that which a master has in the labour of his apprentice. It has also been universally held among lawyers that this right is a local right—in that respect also like the right of a master over his apprentice—a right limited to the jurisdiction under the laws of which it takes its origin, and having no binding force out of that jurisdiction, except by virtue of some express law of the foreign jurisdiction which may recognise and confirm the master's authority. Indeed, that such was the law as to the limited and local authority of a master is expressly recognised by that clause of the Federal Constitution, which is principally relied upon by the five slaveholding judges as recognising Slavery. We refer, of course, to the clause respecting fugitives from labour. The framers of the Constitution did not think it necessary to insert into that instrument any clause for the benefit of the owners of horses and cattle which might stray into adjoining States, or providing for the return of such stray cattle to their original owners. If an absolute and universal right of property, like that which a man has in his sheep and oxen, was recognised by the Constitution as existing in negroes, of course no such provision would have been necessary for protecting the property of the master in negroes escaping from one State into another. If the clause, in relation to 'persons held to service or labour,' was inserted, as the Supreme Court maintains, by way of recognising and protecting the ownership of slaves, then it follows that the Constitution recognises that ownership only to the extent to which it is commonly recognised by jurists, namely, as a limited and local ownership, not resting on natural, but on local and special law. Even with respect to dumb and brute animals, the law recognises a distinction which, in the case of negroes, our five slaveholding judges attempt to wink out of sight. The view taken by jurists of the extent of ownership in a slave is, in many respects, similar to

that which both the civil and the common law takes of the ownership of wild animals, called in law Latin, *feræ naturæ*. With respect to these animals, it was laid down in the law-books that, differing in this respect from sheep and oxen and other tame animals, the perpetuation of whose species is dependent on the care of their owners, they are no longer the property of a man than while they continue in his actual possession; but if, at any time, they regain their natural liberty, his property instantly ceases. In all these creatures, free by nature, and capable of taking care of themselves, the property is not absolute, but defeasible—a property which terminates the moment they regain their natural and normal state. With these *feræ naturæ* the jurists, by a very obvious analogy, seem to have reckoned man. To be the property of another, is with him an abnormal and unnatural condition. A particular State may, by its local laws, convert itself into a cage or inclosure, so that, so long as the captive man remains within the limits of that inclosure, he is considered to be in the possession of his owner, and therefore his property; but the moment he passes out of the network of those laws designed for his enslavement into an adjoining territory, that right of property expires, or can only be continued in force by the express consent of that adjoining State, by its own special enactments, to serve also as a cage for the slave-owner.

"Now, even if we should admit, in pure submission to the assertions of the five slaveholding judges, made in defiance of history, in defiance of the text of the Constitution, and in defiance of the construction hitherto universally put upon that text, that the Constitution does expressly recognise negroes as property, still, according to any just construction, it could only be property in the limited and defeasible sense above pointed out—property in those States, which, by their legislation, might choose to regard them as property, and so long as that local legislation might choose so to regard them, but men and freemen everywhere else, except so far as the fugitive clause in the Constitution might confer a limited power for the reclamation of runaways.

"But such a limited recognition of the right of property in slaves, even suppose it to exist in the Federal Constitution, would by no means have suited the purposes of the five slaveholders who control the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States. A recognition of the right of property in slaves, thus limited, would by no means give to slaveholders—which was the particular point the Court was driving at—the power of moving into a new territory with their slaves, and there continuing to hold them, like their horses, without the necessity of any special legislation authorising them so to do, and, indeed, in spite of any special territorial legislation to the contrary. To meet the necessity of their case, these five slaveholding lawyers have been driven to go a step further. Not content with having undertaken to set up, in ascertaining the sense and meaning of the Federal Constitution, the sentiment, usage, and laws of two States to override those of the other eleven, upon the general question of the nature of the property which a slaveholder has in his slaves, they have undertaken to set up the extravagant new-fangled notions of a set of pro-slavery fanatics, which have sprung into existence within the last ten or

fifteen years, as overriding and setting aside the established and well-settled judgment as to this matter of the jurists of all Christendom, including among the number those of slaveholding as well as of non-slaveholding States.

"It is no wonder that a decision like this—a decision which not only seeks to strike out of existence the whole idea of human rights, and to represent all the allusions to that subject in the documents of the Revolution as mere flourishes of rhetoric, if not intentional deceptions; but a decision which, at the same time upsets the long and well-established doctrines of all jurists, even those of the most conservative character, as to the nature of property in slaves, overturning, at the same time, the practical construction given to the Constitution, from its adoption down to the present moment, as to the power of Congress over the territories; it is no wonder, we say, that such a decision excites denunciation; and it will certainly require something in the way of argument and exposition far beyond any thing yet brought forward by the Court or its apologists to reconcile the non-slaveholding public to such a monstrous stretch of judicial authority.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ITEMS.

"WOMEN HELD AS CATTLE."

"My wives and daughters," says the native Kaffir, "are my cattle, my oxen, my cows, my horse, my plough, my waggon. I bought my wife and paid for her, and I have a right to beat or kill her, if I choose, as much as to beat or kill my goat or my dog, for she is mine. My daughters, also, are my cattle, my money, and my merchandise, and I wish them to learn to dig, and not to read and pray."

THE above is taken from the *Journal of Missions*, published by the A. B. C. F. M. Now, women are held as cattle in fifteen of the States in the American Union, and yet I have never seen any similar allusion to this melancholy fact in the *Journal of Missions*. Is it said the Board is a Foreign Missionary Society, and therefore it is not its province to notice obstructions to the world's conversion in our own land? But it does profess to notice impediments to the conversion of the world at home and abroad. Why, then, maintain perpetual silence with regard to the great obstruction in the United States? Again, the Indians of this country are included by the Board in its field of foreign Missions, and among the Choctaws and Cherokees, where it has Missionaries, are women held as cattle. Yet the *Journal* utters no cry about that abomination. How cheering it would be to see in its pages something like the following:

"Women held as Cattle.—My concubines and my daughters," says the American slaveholder, "are my cattle, my oxen, my cows, my horse, my plough, my waggon. I bought my concubine and paid for her, and I have a right to beat or kill her, if I choose, as much as to beat or kill my goat or my dog, for she is mine. My daughters, also, are my cattle, my money, my merchandise, and I wish them to learn to dig, and not to read and pray."

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

FRIDAY, MAY 1, 1857.

THE REGISTRATION ORDINANCE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

ON Tuesday, the 28th ult., a Deputation of the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* waited upon the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, at the Colonial Office, for the purpose of presenting a Memorial, of which the following is a copy, on the subject of the Registration Ordinance of British Guiana. The Deputation consisted of Messrs. G. W. Alexander, T. Binns, S. Sturge, L. A. Chamerovzow, the Rev. Jos. Kettley, of Demerara, and the Rev. Dr. Carlile.

"27, New Broad Street, 21st April 1857.

"To the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, H.M. Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"SIR,—The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* having had their attention directed to numerous cases of hardship and oppression which have arisen under the Registration Ordinance recently passed by the Court of Policy of British Guiana, beg respectfully to offer a few observations on the subject.

"The Committee would, in the first place, dwell upon the principle of the Ordinance itself as objectionable, in levying a so-called registration-fee of two dollars upon every male, and one dollar upon every female, above sixteen, thus virtually imposing a poll-tax upon the adult population, which falls with the extreme of severity on that section of the community least able to bear it. The poll-tax was one of the essential features of Slavery, but was, even then, so oppressive and unpopular, that its abolition was demanded by the free coloured people, and obtained; and the Committee concur in the view expressed of it, by a distinguished member of the present Court of Policy in British Guiana, that 'no sufficient cause has existed for re-adopting that which has been already discarded.' Considered as a financial measure, there is every prospect of its proving a complete failure. By the first sections of the Ordinance, the salaries, fixed and contingent, for carrying it out, cannot be estimated at less than fifty thousand dollars. The entire population of British Guiana does not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand persons, of whom not more than two-thirds, at the utmost, can be set down as liable to the tax. Estimating half of these to be males, the tax would produce a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Thus one-third of the entire amount would be absorbed in the cost of collection, assuming that every person paid who is liable to the tax. But the Committee are assured that scarcely one-third of the anticipated amount is likely to be realized without a degree of oppression and violence painful to contem-

plate; so that, in fact, the entire produce of the tax will probably be absorbed in salaries. The Committee respectfully submit these as being alone sufficient reasons for disallowing the Ordinance.

"The Committee would observe, further, that as it is admitted no extraordinary tax was required to meet the necessities of the Colony, the measure, as one of finance, was uncalled for and unjustifiable. It would also appear to be unconstitutional, having been passed by the Court of Policy alone, and not by the Combined Court; whilst, if viewed as a simple registration ordinance, it is rendered supererogatory in effect by existing statutes.

"The ticket of residence, which it is compulsory upon all persons to take out, is, in its essential features, precisely similar in operation to the pass; so repugnant to free men, so suggestive to those who once were slaves, of irresponsible power in unscrupulous hands. Sections 12, 19, and 20, in relation to it, strike the Committee as especially objectionable, and pregnant with opportunity of abuse. They place undue power in the hands of employers, and of the subordinates of the local Government, and subject those who may be required to produce their ticket, to penalties wholly disproportionate to the offence, and ruinously heavy; nor is any provision made to exempt from penalties, or to protect from vindictive or capricious persecution, the parties who, through accident or any other cause, may not be in a position to comply with the requisitions of the law. It is also obvious that these sections press with especial severity on the poorer sections of the community; for it may be presumed that very few, if any, of the white population will be called upon to produce their ticket, whilst the labouring classes will be continually subject to the demand. A power of annoyance is thus placed in the hands of subordinate officials, having a direct pecuniary interest in procuring convictions, which is liable to be grievously abused, and to lead to a series of petty tyrannies painfully suggestive of the period of Slavery, and certain to engender feelings of the bitterest hostility between the labouring classes and their employers.

"Again, to the latter a power is given of deducting the amount of the tax from wages, which is, in principle, a direct encroachment upon the liberty of the subject, liable to grave abuses, and to become the occasion of serious misunderstandings. It may be reasonably supposed, that rather than submit to so great an infraction of justice, many will renounce labouring on estates altogether, and the evil of which the planters now complain will be thereby seriously aggravated.

The Committee would further submit, that it is extremely unjust to mulct the class of labourers who have been introduced, and indentured to serve on estates, in a sum

which amounts virtually to an annual fine, and is exacted contrary to the terms under which they consented to come into the Colony. Its inevitable tendency will be to deter others from coming, and to raise the cost of immigrant labour.

"Another extremely objectionable feature in the Ordinance is the insufficient time allowed to pay the tax. The result has already been, that many hundreds of the poorer and more illiterate classes, who did not understand the enactment, have been brought up by the District-Registrars and their subordinates, and in the majority of cases fined in sums varying from ten to fifteen dollars, irrespective of the condition or circumstances of the defendants. Many who were unable to pay the penalties, have been condemned to work with felons at the sea-wall, whence, from infirmity or age, and the effects of this distressing labour, numbers have not lived to return. Others, again, having large families, have been forced to disburse considerable sums, and been thereby reduced to extreme straits, without prospect of alleviation, as the tax is annual, and the average rate of wages so low as scarcely to suffice for daily sustenance. Numerous instances have also occurred of the actual holders of tickets being heavily fined, or condemned in default to hard labour at the sea-wall, because, on producing their tickets, it was ascertained they had been taken out subsequently to the prescribed date. In these cases, the officials who delivered the tickets, did not inform the applicants that they were liable to be fined; and thus they lost the amount of the registration-fee, with any advantage to be acquired by the holder of a ticket, and were severely punished besides. It is manifestly not only a grievous injustice, but harsh and cruel, to fine those who, though they may, from various circumstances, have failed to comply with the strict letter of the law, have nevertheless done so subsequently to prosecution's being instituted against them, and before the charge has been heard.

"Under ordinary circumstances, the deplorable effects of the Ordinance would furnish sufficient grounds for its abrogation; but the visitation of the deadly malady which has in numberless cases fallen on those who were without the means of obtaining the remedies which might have saved life, has greatly aggravated its hardships, and affords an additional reason for disallowing the measure.

"For numerous and various illustrations of the injustice and inequality of the tax, and of the abuses connected with its enforcement, the Committee would respectfully refer you to the columns of the colonial press; and to the debates in the Court of Policy on the presentation of the Ordinance, for one of the strongest protests against it, by the oldest and most respected member of the Court: a protest in which the Committee sincerely concur.

"One of the chief objects of the *British and*

Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is to watch over and protect the interests of the emancipated classes in our Colonies, it being, in the estimation of the Committee, of the first importance, in view of the effect which the prosperity of those Colonies and the happiness of their inhabitants are calculated to produce upon slaveholding countries, that the great measure of Emancipation should be fairly carried out, and its benefits not marred by laws tending to discourage the labouring population, or to repress their energies. The Committee have unhappily had to deplore the passing of many local enactments of a retrogressive character, and of measures under Imperial sanction, which have subjected our Colonies to a severe and injurious competition. Nevertheless, the Committee believe, that in spite of these and other drawbacks, the emancipated classes exhibit, on the whole, a highly encouraging spectacle to the world, of a people scarcely one generation removed from Slavery, steadily progressing in industry, morality, and education, and, with respect to religion, presenting a favourable contrast with communities that have, for a series of years, been the most highly favoured under free institutions. The Committee, therefore, very deeply regret when the painful duty devolves upon them to protest, on behalf of a struggling people, as they feel it to be their duty to do in the present instance, against enactments pregnant with so many abuses, and which are, in principle and in effect, a recurrence to the policy of the period when Slavery disgraced the British Colonies, and therefore antagonistic to the enlightened spirit of modern legislation. They venture to hope, that although the Registration Ordinance may have been already sanctioned, its mischievous operation, and the deplorable hardships incidental thereto, will induce Her Majesty's Government to revoke its decision, and thereby relieve a large and deserving class from cruel suffering and oppression.

"On behalf of the Committee,

GEO. WM. ALEXANDER, *Chairman.*

LOUIS ALEXIS CHAMEROVZOW, *Sec."*

JAMAICA.

CONDITION OF THE LABOURING POPULATION. It is objected, by the opponents of Emancipation, that this results of this measure have not been such as to encourage the Government of other countries where Slavery exists to follow the example set by Great Britain. It is argued that, left to themselves, the negroes relapse into a condition worse even than the one from which they were rescued, gradually, indeed, retrograding into actual barbarism. They are alleged to be indolent, impertinent, unwilling to work for fair wages; to be averse to acquire education themselves, and negligent, in this respect, of their children. In fact, were the statements made by the not inconsiderable nor unimportant class of persons who

spread these reports received without abatement, the inevitable conclusion would be, that emancipation has signally failed, and that, if the good treatment of the negroes as slaves could be ensured, it would be better they remained in that condition, than to receive their freedom and be abandoned to their own resources. With strange perversity of judgment, these parties fasten on Jamaica as presenting, in the actual state of the labouring classes, a forcible illustration of the disadvantages of emancipation; losing sight of the circumstance, that even were all they allege in disparagement of the peasantry literally true, retrogression of any one colony could not fairly be cited as proving the retrogression of the others. Emancipation was intended to benefit the people first, and those who held them in bondage secondly; and we believe both results have been achieved: in the case of the former to a truly remarkable extent; in that of the latter, scarcely less so; and if less at all, the fact is ascertainable to causes altogether distinct from that measure.

Generally it will be found that the liberation of the enslaved negroes is opposed on the plea that it would not benefit them; hence the conclusion is inevitable that they are held in bondage for their own good. Slavery is alleged to be a humanizing, a Christianizing, and a civilizing institution; a means of rescuing the aboriginal African from his native barbarism, and of introducing him to a knowledge of a higher moral and social life. To the generation of born slaves the same rule cannot be applied. They are already—it is said—in every respect better off than they would have been had they first seen the light in freedom in the country of their ancestors, but they must be prepared for liberty by a course of bondage, or they will relapse into the barbarism of their fathers. Strange inconsistency this, a system which is alleged to humanize, Christianize, and civilize those who have the misfortune of being born under it, yet retains its victims in chatteldom under the plea that they must be prepared for emancipation; in other words, must first be humanized, Christianized, and civilized. If, however, and without reference to the moral and religious considerations involved in the question of a general emancipation of the negroes, it can be shewn that the coloured population of our colonies are in every respect better off than when they were in Slavery; that they have advanced morally, socially, and religiously, and are steadily progressing, we think we deprive the class who affect to consider Slavery desirable for the sake of the enslaved themselves, of the very last argument they can advance in favour of this detestable and odious system.

The following selection of facts, from letters quite recently received from Jamaica, will, we trust, be productive of

some good in enlightening the public mind on the real condition of the labouring classes in that highly-favoured island. The circular which precedes it sufficiently explains the circumstances under which the letters were written. It was addressed to a select number of persons, lay and clerical, who by their position and experience were most likely to furnish the information desired, without bias or prejudice. However anxious the friends of the emancipated classes may be to prove that emancipation has been pre-eminently successful, they are aware that the anti-slavery cause is not likely to be advanced by exaggerating its results, or by concealing any facts that may cast a shadow over the new existence of the colonial peasantry, and presage gloomily for their future. Where any causes of discouragement are found to exist, they can be traced, in every instance, first and chiefly to the system of Slavery, and secondly to subsequent ill-advised legislation.

A brief statement of circumstances bearing on the general condition of the island may be useful in this place, and may serve to throw light on the causes which tend to fetter the energies of the labouring classes. It is certain that, in 1838, at the period of Emancipation, Jamaica counted 600 sugar estates, and that in 1855 they were reduced to 300. The causes that led to their abandonment were altogether independent of Emancipation, as was proved before the Parliamentary Committee on West-Indian affairs. The result, however, has been, that a considerable annual sum was withdrawn from circulation; for estimating that only 2000*l.*, a low average, expended every year on each estate, for the cost of labour, we have 600,000*l.* no longer circulating, year by year, in the trade of the colony as wages for work, in consequence of the reduction of sugar culture on estates. Add 200,000*l.* for coffee plantations abandoned, and there is a sum of 800,000*l.* annually no longer representing the industry of the plantation labourer. This loss of a market for wages would alone furnish a sufficient reason why the people cannot give as much as they formerly did, for the support of churches, during the period when they had no other outlet for their savings or earnings, or contribute more for educational purposes.

With a reduced trade to constitute a revenue through the Customs, the island is encumbered by a heavy debt. That debt was created by a vicious local legislature refusing the ordinary supplies, and saddling the public with official debts to the amount of 200,000*l.*, besides 300,000*l.* expended in unproductive schemes of immigration, to replace the labour of the emancipated peasantry when the abandoned estates were daily throwing considerable numbers of unemployed labourers upon the market. The funded debt is 500,000*l.*, whilst the revenue to meet it, and to provide

for the current expenses of government, is derived from a tax of 12½ per cent. *ad valorem* on the invoice of imported goods.

The calamities which have overtaken the island must also not be lost sight of. Seven years of drought, commencing in 1840, completed the ruin of the sugar-planters, precipitated by the Sugar-duties Act of 1846. In 1850-51, and 1853, cholera, and, in the intervals, small-pox and influenza, diminished the population by at least 50,000 out of 400,000. Let any unbiassed person take these facts into consideration, and he will, we think, admit that Jamaica and its population have nobly sustained, and come triumphantly out of, an unprecedented struggle.

Not, however, to extend our remarks to undue length, we proceed to quote from the letters above referred to. We will merely add, that as our circular was a confidential one, we are necessarily under reserve with respect to the names of our informants.

27 New Broad Street,
London, 16th Jan. 1857.

"DEAR SIR—The Committee of this Society receive, from time to time, very conflicting accounts of the condition of the coloured population of Jamaica. Recently, especially, it has been represented as being morally and socially at a very low ebb, and the picture drawn is any thing but encouraging.

"The Committee are reluctant to receive these accounts without abatement. In so large an island, with so considerable a population, and so many incentives to indolence and the evil habits ever attendant thereon, they are prepared to hear that great differences exist in the condition of the people in various parts. Still, until these accounts reached them, the Committee hoped that, generally, the peasantry were advancing. They are informed, however, that the contrary is the case, and that the retrogression dates from 1842. Immorality of every kind is alleged to prevail to an alarming and an increasing extent; and altogether the description is one calculated to fill the mind with deep solicitude.

"Now the Committee are desirous of ascertaining what the facts are, and have instructed me to address you, soliciting complete information on this subject.

"They desire to have the facts laid quite bare before them; and if the statement which you send bear out the one they have received, they would beg to be informed what, in your judgment, would be the best means of remedying the evil.

"Soliciting your prompt attention to this communication.

"I am,

"DEAR SIR,

"Your's very faithfully,

"L. A. CHAMEROVZOW, Sec."

"Feb. 2, 1837.

"DEAR SIR,—The last packet brought me your favour of the 16th January, informing me of the disparaging accounts circulated in England respecting our peasantry, and asking me for information on this subject, and advice as to the best means of remedying the evils said to exist.

"Your Committee require facts illustrative of the state of the whole coloured population, but my information extends to only a sixth part. However, I will put you in possession of as many facts as I can.

"I may say with truth that labour of all kinds is not attended to with that precision, regularity, vigour, and despatch which distinguishes labour in England, and which no doubt characterized slave-labour, even at the expense of human life. But I do not see that the negro is peculiar in this case, for throughout the whole of society here, so far as my knowledge extends, there are exactly the same deficiencies; and I think I am correct in asserting that the negro labourer is generally as vigorous and unintermitting as any other workman, German, English, Portuguese, Coolie, or Chinese. I do not think that people here are to be greatly blamed for this lassitude in every work. First, the climate is against that degree of exhausting labour which can be exacted in northern climes. Secondly, there is no need of it for the support of a comfortable life. Thirdly, and chiefly, in very many instances there is not sufficient pecuniary encouragement to such labour.

"Then, as to morals. The instances of the violation of moral rectitude do not appear so numerous, complicated, wilful, deeply-designed, refined, and flagrant, as those which we learn are continually taking place in the older, more established, and far higher-privileged communities of Europe and other parts of the world.

"The negro will bear a good comparison as to morals, not only with the few whites of his class here, but with very many in a much higher position of life. Some time ago my negro boy was accosted thus by a white gentleman, a proprietor and magistrate, a man in years, with a family of grown-up illegitimate children: 'Does Parson teach you to curse and swear?' 'No, sir,' the boy replied. 'Oh, you should curse and swear: all my boys do,' was the rejoinder of the Justice of the Peace.

"Their social and domestic condition is much in advance of the times of Slavery. On all sides of me I see groups of settlements more or less thriving. The other day, as I was visiting my sick and aged people in one of these groups, I turned my horse's head into a negro's yard. The man and his wife, with another man, were busy boiling the cane-juice into sugar. Several barrelsful of light, clear, and glistening sugar stood on one side, and the man was pleased to hand

me some as a present to my children, while his wife quickly made a jug of sugar-water to refresh me. In another settlement a brown man took me to his little sugar-house, and, with considerable satisfaction, asked my opinion of some ten barrels of good brown sugar that stood there about to be headed-up and sent off to the merchant the next morning. In another house I purchased a barrel of good sugar for 2*l*. I might enumerate several others, and I believe there are plenty such, and much more flourishing, in the more noted sugar districts. The same story can be told of the people living in the coffee and pimento districts, all trying to do the best in their judgments with their little freeholds. They keep horses, mules, and cows: many have very decent houses and furniture; but many of the houses, on the other hand, are poor and temporary, built in the hurry and expense of first settling, and intended ultimately for the 'cookroom,' or kitchen.

"Their manner of dress for market, Sundays, and all special occasions, is far superior to former times of Slavery. They eat more fresh meat than formerly, consume more bread, rice, &c.

"I have always found that they will receive advice and act kindly when they are treated with kindness and fairness. At times we have extraordinary instances of liberality in church matters. For instance: a short time ago a meeting was convened to consider upon the enlargement of a chapel, which would cost some 600*l*. About 120 people, men and women, assembled, most of them parents, heads of families. The result was, there and then, a contribution, by subscription, of about 100*l*, full 70*l*. of which is now paid. All of them were small settlers, labourers, and carpenters.

"In one of these groups of Settlements, before referred to, the people wished to have a schoolmaster living among them. They formed a committee; adopted resolutions; obtained subscriptions of 1*l*. 16*s*. per annum; and settled their teacher, whom they were partial to, in his new school, which they have maintained for the past year and a half. This is not retrogression.

"Our chapels and schools are well attended, and both young and old conduct themselves with general order and decency, and also with freedom and buoyancy of spirit.

"I have not the slightest doubt, that if any enlightened philanthropist from England made a leisurely tour through this island among the labouring people, he would be convinced that the representations lately made respecting them admit of such qualification as to very materially alter the whole aspect of things. He would also see plenty to convince him of the need of continued effort on the part of the church of Christ to instruct and help forward in civilization and Christian life this once enslaved and degraded, but now free and rising people. In

the ports, and on large sugar-estates, he would find plenty of bad ones, and, indeed, sinners everywhere, but not in a greater proportion, if so great, as in more favoured countries."

"February 10, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR,—The work you have given me is difficult, because of the mixed state of our population, and the conflicting views of men of equal experience, taken from different standing points, and from a particular bias for or against the labouring population.

"I could give you cases of gross injustice in magistrates, and in a late chairman of quarter-sessions, but would only say that such cases have had a highly injurious effect on the minds of the labouring-classes; for in nearly all these cases the attempt has been successfully made to rob the labourer of his hire, for labour which he had faithfully performed. In one case the man had cleared several acres of very foul pimento and pasture ground, and payment was refused on the plea of insufficient work. It was taken before the magistrates; and because the man had not gone up the pimento trees, and pulled off the withered creepers and parasitical plants, the magistrates decided against the labourer, and in favour of their neighbour and brother-magistrate. The thing was monstrous, and the poor man appealed. The chairman, or judge, lodged in the house of the magistrate's sister; and though the man was well defended in his appeal, and had his case nobly stated by a fearless lawyer, who is the friend of justice, it was of no use. The chairman expressed his sorrow that the case had not been settled at home, but he would not reverse the judgment before given by the country magistrates, and the man lost some four or five pounds; all his time spent in attending the courts; had to pay some 4*l.* in lawyers' fees, &c., and expenses of witnesses brought down to give evidence that the work had been well performed.

"Another similar case came on last court, and several poor men lost their cases, on the ground that they had horses on the common pasture, and owed something for rent.

"The extravagant immigrant scheme, too, was a sad evil, and would probably have caused a disturbance in the land if our people were not peace-loving, slow to take offence, and forgiving. Immigration, as it has been carried on, has always appeared to me to be a great piece of folly, injuring a body of people, in order to do a *supposed* good to a few; and if one-tenth of the sum thrown away on immigration had been used to pay honestly the native labourers, masters and servants would be on better terms with one another to-day. Some of the Coolies have become settled characters, and have married Creoles; a few are united to females of their own class; many go about the country licensed sellers of goods; some have returned

to India; and others have taken the bounty-money offered to those who agree to continue in Jamaica, and who have thus given up their claim to be sent to their own country. Very few have shewn any desire to become acquainted with Christianity, while the poor Africans have in great numbers come under the influence of the gospel. Of the Chinese little can be said. Some of them are at work in the field; many are wandering about in distress; and some have shewn themselves to be daring and desperate robbers. Three were sentenced at our last Circuit Court to hard labour for a robbery of gold and silver (about 50*l.*) on a Coolie, and for a murderous assault made on the policeman who captured them. Though the proof was clear, and they were urged to plead guilty, they would not; and, though all young men, the one who threw the stone at the policeman had the appearance of an incorrigible consumer of opium. Of the Africans who have been brought to Jamaica within the last fifteen years I have little to say, except in commendation. About 300 come under my teaching and influence, besides their families. They work well; get married; send their children to school; some have learned to read; and though there are a few cases of intemperance and unfaithfulness among them, the generality are better disposed than even our own native population.

"Of the peasantry, in general termed *Creoles*, (*i. e.* born in the island,) there are varieties. Some are very steady and well behaved; others are idle and often foolish; but while it is true that some unprincipled persons prefer theft and the pretended practice of Myalism and Obeah to honest industry, these are the exceptions—the one in the thousand who disgraces by his conduct the character of his class. When we look among young tradesmen, shopmen, and persons about towns, we see the worst specimens to be found in Jamaica. Most of these have got a little education, and think it enough, and do not endeavour to learn more. They keep or borrow a horse, put spurs on their boots, and a cigar in their mouth, and ride about as if already gentlemen of independent fortune. Encouraged by the example of their *elders*, many run into debt, and some act dishonestly to keep up the horse and expensive habits, which, on account of the common practice of concubinage still prevailing fearfully in towns, and in the country parts too, are nevertheless scarcely viewed by the generality of the inhabitants with abhorrence or disgust. It is only if the person has made some profession of religion that the evil practice is noticed at all. Boys of eighteen and twenty years of age will publicly live in this abominable, miserable, and destructive way. Their fathers and mothers lived so; their employers live in this way; the majority around are in this state; and no

disgrace, in the sphere in which they move, is attached to the keeping of one person. There is connected with this, in the first instance, frequently the promise of marriage when money enough can be obtained to make an extravagant wedding. This promise is seldom fulfilled: a difference arises, a quarrel follows, and a separation: or a new object attracts, and the former is abandoned, and probably left to take her revenge on one or two illegitimate children. Sometimes the parties go on as they began, and live through life together in careless indifference. But in this sad picture of the state of many thousands you must allow for many honourable exceptions of persons, male and female, who hate vice and stand firm on the side of virtue, in the midst of temptation.

"But these are exceptions: the low state of morality *is*, in town and country, still a prevailing evil. It touches all churches, and corrupts many of the professed members of each. We have more to put out for uncleanness, and for concealment of such sins, than for any other single cause in existence here; but I do not think 'immorality of every kind,' or of any kind, is increasing. It has existed in its foul streams, flowing from the *black lake of Slavery*, but it is not widening or deepening in any part. If you view us by reported crimes in the pages of newspapers, and judge of us as a whole by these, you can no more see us as we are, than we could you if we were to judge of our loved Britain by the many foul murders, daring robberies, and garotting by the ticket-of-leave men, we see accounts of by every packet which reaches our shores. *Flaming, one-sided* views have been given by philanthropists on the one hand, who hoped the best, saw only the bright spots, and gave a profile. Doleful outcries have been raised by disappointed mortgagees, and ruined proprietors, too indolent to look properly after, or too imbecile to manage, their own affairs, on the other. But could you obtain a correct list of the estates ruined by planting attornies, and then sold to their friends, for a small sum, and now again flourishing, and producing *thousands*, in clear profit, by the year; could you see the willingness of the labourer to work in this hot land (eight or nine hours) for a shilling a-day; could you be made cognizant of all the chicanery and cheating which thousands of the labourers have to complain of almost weekly—how readily they forgive, and try their hard masters again; could you see the fertile land lying in useless bush, behold the fertilizing rains descending in vain upon these ten thousands of acres; you would see that the immigrants we want are honest and enterprising proprietors, with money at command to pay *weekly* the labourer his hire. A sufficient number of masters acting on this principle would soon change the entire face

of Jamaica, and enrich themselves with the produce they had honestly procured.

"At present almost every thing is wrong in the principles of the upper classes: blind and ruinous selfishness prevails, and is imitated by the lower grades also. Much among the poor has been corrected, but much still remains to be done; but time only, and patient perseverance in the right course, will produce the change we desire. No doubt a railway through the island, and steam-vessels trading around it, would greatly facilitate commerce; but the great thing needed to implant right principles is, with the Holy Spirit's blessing, religious instruction to the young in schools, from the Bible alone; and in meeting-houses, to all, from the word of God.

"February 18, 1857

"I would neither conceal nor extenuate the evils that prevail: they are great and many. They cause those of us who have long laboured to promote the welfare of the people the most poignant sorrow. Beyond question, there is idleness, ignorance, superstition, lying, dishonesty, and sensuality, in fearful abundance, yet probably not more than in most towns and villages in England. Certainly there is not a larger amount of crime than in an equal population at home; nor has crime increased of late years, if we may form our opinion from prison returns. The latest statistics shew that there are only about three-fourths of the criminals now in confinement that there were eight or nine years since; while the greater portion are for trespass, common assaults, and petty larcenies. One painful feature in the state of society is the revival of superstition (Obeahism and Myalism). This seems to be owing to the introduction of Africans, who have worked on the fears of the people, and incited some to criminal acts—it is believed to the extent of taking away life; but of that no clear proof has yet been obtained.

"Since writing the foregoing, I have received copies of returns from the magistrates' clerk of this parish, who says: 'I send you statistics of crime, if crime it can be called, for this parish. You will perceive that the average is very small; and I think we could bear a favourable comparison with older and more populous countries.'

"The convictions in petty sessions (individual magistrates have no power to convict) amounted, in 1855, to 484; and, last year, to 460, out of a population of 28,000; or 15.7 and 19.14 per cent.; but these are generally of a trifling character, many of which would not be brought into any Court in England. For the last year, convictions for assaults were 146, under town and community Acts; for making noises, nuisances, drunkenness, &c., 96; cruelty to animals, 3; petty larceny, 24; trespass, 55; larceny

of growing provisions, 105 (a much larger number than usual, owing, I suppose, to the general distress); under Masters' and Servants' Act, 14; pound law, 2; practising Obeah, 5; larceny, under the 19th Victoria (1, I think, for stealing pimento), 10. In the great sessions, the number of prisoners indicted in 1855—the latest return I have got—was 34, of whom all but one were convicted. It may, however, be well to give you the whole from 1838:

	No. indicted.	No. convicted.
1838	41	22
1839	12	9
1840	35	18
1841	29	20
1842	30	24
1843	27	12
1844	76	40
1845	64	28
1846	41	32
1847	36	26
1848	49	34
1849	62	43
1850	56	46
1851	95	69
1852	74	51
1853	72	57
1854	64	40
1855	34	53

"This is bad enough, and deeply to be lamented; but, I suppose, is not really worse than most parts of England. And it must be borne in mind, that our emancipated population are exposed to the worst possible influences. The upper classes, as they are called, with of course very many honourable exceptions, are living in open immorality; and sometimes the criminals at the bar are ready to turn on the magistrates, and say, 'Physicians, heal yourselves.' Mercantile morality is very low. Some of our leading merchants have been detected in smuggling, but have managed to compromise matters by payment of heavy fines, and have escaped being brought to the bar; others have been guilty of extensive frauds, and have fled the country; while cheating of creditors is carried on with the greatest shamelessness. These things necessarily have a bad effect on the poor people, to say nothing of the evil habits formed in Slavery, which not two or three generations will be able to cast off. Then, again, it is very seldom that any criminal charge is brought against the members of our churches. Out of 1500 under my own care, I do not think there has been half-a-dozen from the coming of freedom until now.

"As to idleness, no one really acquainted with the people could bring that charge against them, as a whole. There are idle people, beyond doubt; but they are mostly the poor white and coloured people, who have never been accustomed to work, and the dissolute blacks who crowd to the

towns. I do not mean to say that the people generally work so hard as yours at home; they cannot do it under a burning sun: but I know that multitudes are compelled to labour very diligently for nine or ten hours a-day, and have to walk a long distance to and from their work, in order to support their families. I also know that some are thrifty and prosperous. It is probable that I have told you of my having purchased a large property, for three of my people, for between 200*l.* and 300*l.*, and a run of land for another, for about 160*l.* But I do not now profess to speak exactly, as I cannot at this time turn to my papers.

"But whatever may be said about the irreligious part of the community, we have, in the general well-doing of those who attend our chapels—especially the members of our churches—abundant evidence of the success of emancipation and the power of the Gospel of Christ.

"Most earnestly do I wish that the *Anti-Slavery Societies* of England and America would send a Deputation here to inquire into the results of freedom. I am confident that they would be able to prove to demonstration that it has been eminently successful; that even the abandonment of estates is owing to other causes than emancipation."

"Feb. 20, 1857.

"DEAR SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 16th, in which you, as Secretary of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, state you had been directed to inquire whether the accounts that have reached you, as to the low and degrading condition of the people of this island, are correct or not.

"Allow me to express my willingness to give you every information in my power, and to contribute to the noble aim your Society has in view; and, at the same time, I have to state my regret not to be able to enter as fully into the question as I should like to do, and beg you to excuse me if I only put down a few notes.

"I suppose you refer to a pamphlet which was lately published in England by a Mr. Evans and two other gentlemen, in which such statements as you refer to are made. I have not read the pamphlet myself, but have seen it noticed in several Jamaica Newspapers, which, all and every one, are zealous in denying and refuting the statements made. The extracts from this pamphlet I have seen are so extravagantly one-sided, so against all my knowledge and experience, that I have considered this pamphlet unworthy of all attention. Any one quite unacquainted with the state of our peasantry, a stranger landing at Kingston, or any other of our sea-towns, might receive such impressions, and be led to form opinions as stated in this pamphlet: they might be true enough of the lower classes

of these towns; but as to the people of the island they are certainly quite wrong. It cannot excite any astonishment to hear from these towns, especially Kingston, where thousands of emigrants to and from California are landing, that the lower classes are very demoralized and abandoned; but who would think of judging by them of the peasantry at large? If, therefore, the accounts you have received are from this source, it is my humble opinion that no great weight is to be attached to them.

"I arrived here in Jamaica a few years after the slaves were liberated, in 1838. I saw them living on the plantations, and have been an eyewitness of the changes which have taken place. As far as my knowledge goes, there has been, from that time forward, a marked and decided progress in the social, moral, and religious state of the people. The number of those still living in concubinage is, compared with those who are legally married, very insignificant—very small indeed. Gross immorality, formerly so common, has been greatly checked; and we find now and then, what formerly could not be found, young persons who feel shame and sorrow of sin, when they have strayed from the path of virtue. Certainly such sins are still but too common, and you will bear in mind that I speak comparatively with former times.

"The peasantry are unquestionably better housed and better dressed than in former years. Here and there, especially in the parish of Manchester, you see neat cottages, inhabited by common labourers, kept decently and cleanly; and our congregations appear on the Sabbath-day as well and becomingly dressed as could be expected. I know many a family where they unite regularly every evening to worship and read the Holy Scriptures. Our churches are to this day as well attended as ever they were, and our schools are crowded. In thirteen congregations, we have not less than 4198 scholars; and we have no cause to believe that the Negroes are indifferent to education, or more so than the peasantry in other countries.

"Neither do we find that idleness, and consequent poverty, with all its attendant evils, is on the increase. On the contrary, the people are certainly increasing in substance; and I think it must be evident to every one that the impoverishment of many of the proprietary class, and the consequent abandonment of former plantations, has not much affected the peasantry. They gradually come into possession of the land: most of them are owners of small farms, and a few have purchased large estates. The impression appears more generally now, that the island has passed through a crisis, and that we have at last arrived at the point, when an improving state of

things has set in. With all this, I cannot say otherwise but that our expectations have not been fully realized: may be we were too sanguine. When we look upon this country, so richly blessed by God—when we consider the resources God has put at the disposal of man—we might expect the peasantry to become not only supplied with all the necessities and comforts of life, but independent and wealthy. This, however, is *not* the case. There is wanting in them the knowledge and energy, without which this is not attainable. They, like all ignorant people, are satisfied with little things, and prefer ease and a sufficiency to hard labour and plenty. And, like all people living in the tropics they likewise prefer ease and contentment to toil and wealth. Nevertheless, even in this a change for the better is perceptible: knowledge will and does increase; wants will and do multiply; and this will again force upon them the necessity of greater exertions.

"Want of time and leisure prevents me from going more into detail at present, and I again request you to accept this as an apology for putting down merely these few notes. I have communicated the above to ten ministers of the gospel just assembled, and they fully approve of what I have stated.

"Feb. 21, 1857.

"DEAR SIR,—I duly received your favour of the 16th ultimo, asking information respecting the moral and social condition of the peasantry of this island. I cheerfully comply with the request of your Committee, and the more so, as my communication will be of a character that will, I hope, tend, in some measure, to assure our friends that their noble efforts to benefit this people have not been altogether in vain. With regard to statistics of crime, &c., I may presume that your Committee is much better informed than I am. Your Committee is right in thinking that there exist great differences in the condition of the people in different localities. It may also be presumed that ministers of the gospel will form the most favourable view of the people, as it is principally with the better portion of the people that they have to do.

"There is, indeed, much to deplore in the state of things here; much immorality, drunkenness, gambling, revelling, &c., at the rum-shops which abound throughout the island; and there is too much reason to fear that the class addicted to these vices has, of late years, increased, as well as become more shameless in their practice.

"It must, however, be taken into the account, that the people here have no rational amusements; and, further, that notwithstanding the great efforts which their best friends have made to teach them, compara-

tively few of the *adults* have made sufficient progress in reading to take an interest in general literature; and, further, that excepting the religious portion of them, the *examples* which they have had set before them by their superiors in rank and education have *generally* been of a character that was calculated to make 'the people' exactly what their worst enemies say they are.

"As it regards the people that have been under my ministerial care, I have no hesitation in speaking in favour of their *progress*. I laboured for fourteen years at —, where there is one of the largest negro settlements in the island, and where our congregation consisted of 800 persons, and, in leaving them, I could not but congratulate them, and bless God on their behalf, for the improvement which had been effected, during that time, in their condition and prospects. Notwithstanding two terrible visitations—the one of small-pox, and the other of cholera, during the prevalence of which they received scarcely any parochial relief—the great mass of the people were, when I left them, in circumstances of comfort. The improvement was visible in every thing: they had better dwellings, they were better clothed, their attendance at public worship was more regular, and a larger proportion of their children attended the day-school.

"When I removed to this station, although only a few miles distant from —, I found the people very differently situated: instead of being located in one township, as at —, they live in three villages, distant from *three* to *five* miles from each other, on allotments of land which they have purchased. At an out-station about eight miles from here we have another large village (—); and at all these places every one of the people is a freeholder of from *one* to *ten* acres of land; and no person could pass through either of those villages without being convinced that the people who possessed such cottages, and laid out such plantations, must be an industrious and thriving people.

"At all our stations the congregations are large, the day-schools well attended, and the contributions of the people liberal.

"My conviction is, that the people are advancing, though slowly. That there is a vast amount of evil remaining there can be no doubt, but for that I can suggest no new remedy. The same instrumentality which, through the Divine blessing, has accomplished what has been already done, will, I believe, complete the great and benevolent work dear to us all."

"Feb. 23, 1837.

"DEAR SIR—I received your letter by last Packet, but too late to be able to reply to it by the return mail. I shall now endeavour to answer your questions respecting the moral and social condition of the coloured population of this island

as briefly and as truthfully as I can. It is difficult to express an opinion on the condition of a whole people.

"Social life has many different phases here, as well as everywhere else; and there is danger, on the one hand, of representing the condition of the people in a light too favourable; and, on the other hand, of drawing a darker and more discouraging picture than the facts of their history will warrant. I shall, in the first place, refer to those alarming reports which have attracted your attention, and excited your solicitude. If you will attentively consider the sources from which these reports emanate, I think you will find that they originate from some of the following parties. The Newspapers, which, with one or two exceptions, are opposed to the interests of the labouring people, and never miss an opportunity to speak evil of them; the small pro-slavery party which still exists in the country, whose prejudices against the Negro are so deeply rooted, that it is vain to expect them to see any good thing among them; the stipendiary magistrates, whose opinions are formed, and whose reports are drawn, from the cases which come before them at the courts; and, last of all, there are casual visitors to the island, who judge of the whole people by the specimens they see about the wharves and streets of Kingston. The advocates of immigration, also, represent the people, from interested motives, as incorrigibly indolent, and utterly worthless, because they were too indifferent to the value of life to seek to procure medical attendance; a grosser misrepresentation than which could not have been made. It is but seldom that I hear of the death of an infant. I mention this as an instance of the kind of exaggeration which is used in speaking of the people, and to shew that their testimony should be received with considerable abatement.

"That there is a great amount of immorality among the coloured population of Jamaica is undeniable. How could it be otherwise, considering the kind of training which they received under Slavery? Some of the worst and most common evils which prevail among them are the direct fruits of that accursed system; such as concubinage, petty pilfering, obeh, deceit, and unfaithfulness in the fulfilment of their obligations. Their freedom is only a thing of yesterday; and it is unreasonable to expect that the whole character and social habits of a people so deeply debased as they were could be regenerated in so short a time. The wonder is that they have made the progress they have done, under so many disadvantages; for it is but little that any or all of their detractors have done to elevate their moral and social condition. I believe that there is great inequality in the moral and social

condition of different districts of the island. In the towns generally, and in Kingston particularly, the character of the Negro population is very low and degraded. In the back mountain settlements, also, where the people are far removed from the observation of their superiors, from the presence of the magistrates and the courts, and from chapels and schools, their state is very bad; and unless measures are taken to follow them with the means of instruction, they must speedily retrograde, and approximate to a state of barbarism. But in the agricultural districts generally I am not aware of any special causes to justify those damaging reports which have reached you. On the contrary, I do think that the people are gradually progressing in knowledge, civilization, morality, and religion. There are still numerous evils among them, which we all deplore, and many around us who resist every effort to do them good; but on the whole, and comparing the present with the past, I am encouraged to hope that progress has been made, and that it is steadily going on. Our chapels are rather better attended than usual; our Schools, where we have the benefit of good teachers, are in general respectably filled; we have fewer cases of discipline among the members of our churches; and those disgraceful orgies with which they were accustomed to celebrate the August and Christmas holidays have in a great measure disappeared. I am intimate with some of the largest and most respectable employers and managers of the people in my neighbourhood, and on every estate in which they are firmly but honestly dealt with, and regularly paid, there is no want of labour, nor are there any complaints against them as a body. Mr. S—, the largest employer in the Parish of Trelawny, always speaks kindly of them; and he said to me only a few months ago, 'I have no fault to find with the people: they are a great deal better than ever I expected to see them.' Mr—, another large employer, also bears similar testimony. In treating of the condition of our negro population, we must ever bear in mind the level on which they stood when the process of civilization commenced, and certainly one much lower than that which they occupied can hardly be conceived. It was worse than simple and absolute paganism. There were the superadded vices produced by a state of Slavery. When the bonds of Slavery were broken, those vices remained as formed habits of mind, and the influence of them can only be adequately estimated by those who have lived among them, and witnessed their effects; but the man who would affirm that the moral condition of the people now is no better than it was in the time of Slavery must be wilfully blind, or worse.

"I think that within the last three or four years the improvement of the people has been more promising than for some time previous. The prices of colonial produce have advanced; the estates are all in full operation; employment can always be had, and their wages generally are regularly paid. Their circumstances have thereby improved a little, and with that, their social advancement: and I would earnestly hope, that, if the country continue to prosper, their progress in civilized life will be continuous. The good leaven has been introduced, and it will work its way through the whole mass of the people. The credit of what has been done, and is now doing, for the good of the people, is due principally, under God, to the Missionary Societies. It has been through their agency that so many of the people have been instructed, civilized, and converted to God, and the hope of the country must, for some time yet, depend on them. But it is just here that our greatest fears for the future of the land arise. All the Missionary Societies, from the pressure on their funds by the claims of other parts of the world, which are considered more destitute, have lessened the number of their agents, and contracted the sphere of their labours in Jamaica. There is a strong feeling abroad in England that this is no longer a mission-field, and that the churches ought now to take upon themselves the responsibility and burden of supporting the Gospel among themselves, both by men and money. But it is a mistaken policy. The European minister and teacher has qualities essential to the work which are rarely to be found in native Christians; and it will be a sad calamity for the churches if they are soon deprived of their European pastors. There are several Institutions open for the instruction and training of young native ministers and teachers; but the men who have come out of them give no very bright promise of either much wisdom or great usefulness. Our schools, again, are all in the hands of native teachers, and, in consequence of the smallness of the funds at the command of the Missionaries, they are obliged to rest satisfied with men of but poor qualifications and abilities for their work. One of the most pressing wants of the country at the present moment is a better system of education, (voluntary,) and that we can never have till the Missionaries are able to offer remuneration sufficient to induce young men of good education and abilities to enter the scholastic profession. We have no Christian public to which we can appeal here for support; and, with the exception of a small annual grant from the *Society of Friends*, those of us who repudiate Government aid receive no ex-

traneous assistance. Were it within the province of the *Anti-Slavery Society* to encourage the education of the country, I know of no other way in which they could more effectually help forward the progress of that people in whose welfare they take so deep an interest. I have written hastily, but I have tried to do so impartially; and you are at liberty to make what use you please of my communications."

"Feb. 24, 1857.

"DEAR SIR—I received your note of 15th January, and deeply regret to find that reports are so current in England to the disadvantage of the labouring population of this island. I regret it, because I believe that the charges, as applied to the people generally, are untrue. There are perhaps few persons who have been longer in the island than myself, or who have had better opportunities of knowing the social state and general character of the labouring population, and I most unhesitatingly assert it as my opinion, that, considering all the circumstances of their previous condition, their progress in civilization, morals, and religion, has been as great as the most sanguine of their friends could have anticipated. As to an increase of crime in the island, it is a fiction, and in direct contradiction of the law reports published from time to time. Nor less so the increase of idleness and immorality. No people in the world have been more grossly and undeservedly calumniated than the people of Jamaica; why, it is sometimes difficult to know: but it must no longer be disguised that some of the calumniators are men who, if all accounts respecting them are true, are more corrupt and vicious than the class they defame; others of them men who have had little or no means of forming any thing like a correct opinion, or who have their own private party-interests to serve in their depreciating both the labourers and properties in Jamaica.

"Your communication came to hand just at the time, when the greater part of our ministers were assembled at Spanish Town, and though you marked it 'Confidential,' I persuaded myself I could not do wrong in making *them* acquainted with its contents. It may be sufficient at present to say that they were unanimous in condemning the reports to which you refer, as grossly calumnious, while many expressed their resolution to vindicate the character of the people in the public prints of the island, and in communications to you.

"February, 24, 1857.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter took me a little by surprise; living, as I do, in a parish where we have thirty-six sugar estates in cultivation, and only nine that I can

reckon given up since freedom arrived. . . . It is said that the old prejudice of the white slaveholding Creole, and the lingering love for the system of former days, are the causes of the mistaken wish, in such persons, that Jamaica might become connected with the United States. . . .

"The following is the list of the estates in Westmoreland, in active sugar cultivation :

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Grandvale | 21. Monteagle |
| 2. Carawina | 22. Campsavanna |
| 3. New Galloway | 23. Ridgland |
| 4. Shrewsbury | 24. Midgham |
| 5. Roaring River | 25. Mayesmuir |
| 6. Fort William | 26. Albany |
| 7. Friendship | 27. New Hope |
| 8. Blackheath | 28. Retreat |
| 9. Mesopotamia | 29. Retrieve |
| 10. Blue Castle | 30. Spring Garden |
| 11. Cornwall | 31. Negril Spots |
| 12. Bath | 32. Meglersfield |
| 13. Three-mile River | 33. Prospect |
| 14. George's Plain | 34. Lennox |
| 15. Fontebelle | 35. Moreland |
| 16. Frome | N.B. The last three |
| 17. Belleisle | in partial cultivation. |
| 18. Geneva | 36. Patersfield |
| 19. Mint | Nos. 33, 35, & 36. |
| 20. Glasgow | |

"The following have, since freedom, been given up for pasturage, rent land, &c. Those above joined by brackets are now united.

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Blackness | 6. Canaan |
| 2. King's Valley | 7. Delve |
| 3. Paul Island | 8. Windsor Forest |
| 4. Amity | 9. Bogg |
| 5. Waterworks | |

"Very many pens are in flourishing order all over the parish, and the small settlements are very numerous. The general industry and comfort of the labouring classes are manifest everywhere; and as I travel over a parish, thirty miles long by eleven in breadth, and have *five* places of residence at the different parts where myself and nephew labour, I have good opportunities for seeing the state of the inhabitants.

"As I stated in my former letter, we have much evil still in existence, but we have also much that is good. In cases of frequent church discipline, I see much to please me on the one hand, and to pain me on the other: but I think if we could know what the land would have been after all the African superstition, Coolie idolatry, and Chinese depravity, which have been imported to amalgamate with the sins, before rampant under the shade of Slavery, we would confess that the religion under freedom has effected wonders; that light has spread; morality has, in thousands, taken a firm hold; and that as many devoted Christians are to be found in Jamaica, in proportion to the amount of population, as are to be found in any other land blest with the light of the gospel.

"If we look at our higher classes, pro-

prietors, merchants, overseers, book-keepers, clerks—yea, at special magistrates, judges, members of Council, members of Assembly, planting attorneys, and attorneys-at-law—what do we behold? Some very respectable men, honourable and moral, but a large proportion not so: and it would be a painful, but not a difficult task, to give you a long list of men in each parish, who ought to be examples of morality and justice, who are, instead, glaringly immoral and shamelessly unjust.

"The people have been taxed to bring immigrants to lower the wages, already a shilling a-day; and they have borne it. These immigrants have been often preferred to the native, and have been paid at the end of the week, while the Creole has been sent away with the gruff, 'You must wait: the money is out for to-day.' All manner of cheating has been adopted, and *the endurer of all things* has put up with it. He has just complained a little, and then bethought himself of the uselessness and folly for him to contend, by law, with his employer—all the danger of being turned away from his rent land, injury to himself and family for life, and the power of the oppressor to harass, misrepresent, and punish; and he has concluded that the least evil would be to bear the present injury, and avoid, if possible, a recurrence of the injustice in future."

"March 10, 1857.

"I do not greatly wonder at statements being made respecting the emancipated population of this island, which do not appear to harmonize with each other; first, because there is a great difference in their condition in different parts of the country, so that what may be perfectly true of the inhabitants of one locality, may not hold good of those in another; and secondly, because individuals look at them from opposite points of view; some as they appear in the courts of justice, and others, in connection with religious engagements: in the one case coming into contact with the worst, and in the other with the best portion of the community; or else seeing the most offensive or the more favourable developments of character. In order, therefore, to form a correct estimate of the condition of the people, it may be necessary to take the statements of both parties as correct in the main, and conclude that here, as in other countries, there are two classes, the ignorant and vicious, and the intelligent and religious, and that even the last-named are far from perfect.

"The charge, however, is, that the people, as a whole, are retrograding—socially, morally, and religiously; a charge which I have no hesitation in saying is *not* true.

"I am, however, willing to admit—and I make the admission with deep sorrow—that

the progress of the people has not been either so rapid and extensive as there was reason to anticipate from the wonderful change that took place on their emancipation. For a time the social vices that had been almost universal were abandoned; in some districts scarcely a criminal case was brought into the Courts; nearly the whole freed population crowded to places of worship; the churches received large accessions, and cases requiring the exercise of discipline were few; the schools were filled with children; and the people were ready for every good work. But a reaction came. It began about the year 1842. It seems to have been similar to that which followed the restoration of Charles the Second in England. Great numbers of the young people broke through the restraints by which they had been surrounded: there were many declensions amongst professing Christians: those of the upper classes of society who were not favourable to religion, and who in former days had been persecutors, now changed their tactics, and, by their example and influence, drew multitudes into folly and sin. Death removed some of the most influential Missionaries, and others, from affliction and the want of support, gave up their work. Simultaneously with this there was a succession of droughts, which brought great distress on the people, from which they were fast recovering, when the Sugar Bill of 1846 began to exert a calamitous influence, causing nearly half the estates in the island to be abandoned, and, as a necessary result, wages were reduced, and remunerative labour difficult to obtain. Again, the introduction of thousands of immigrants from India, China, and Africa, to say nothing of those from Europe, with their heathenish superstitions and vices, did not raise the moral tone of our people, while they were, in consequence, deprived of work on many estates, and loaded with a weight of taxation which they were unable to bear. Thousands, I may here remark, have had their houses stripped of every article of furniture, even to the very bed on which they lay, by the tax-gatherer; besides having to pay exorbitant duties on the necessities of life, for the introduction of labourers to take the bread out of their mouths, and to support the civil and religious establishments of the island in a style of extravagance. This succession of trials and combination of evils, necessarily retarded the advancement of the people, and caused many to retrograde. So that, if we were to compare their condition now, and in 1840, we should be compelled to acknowledge that a portion only have progressed; another portion appear to have stood still; while others have lost the ardour of their first love, and have gone back to the state in which they were before emancipation.

"But, it is hardly fair to compare their condition under the excitements of a newly-

acquired liberty, in a state of prosperity such as had never been experienced in Jamaica, having educational and missionary institutions in full vigour, with what it may have become when the tide turned, and labour became scarce, wages low, provisions dear, taxes oppressive, schools abandoned or less efficiently conducted, the staff of Missionaries reduced, and the external impulses to progress no longer vigorous.

"Compare their state in 1837, the year before their full emancipation, and 1847, and you will find that they had made *astonishing* progress: again, compare them in 1847 and 1857, and you will find that that progress has been continued: so that in twenty years their advancement, socially, morally, and religiously, has been as great or greater than that of any other people in the same period with whose history we are acquainted.

"If you refer to the statistics I sent you by last packet, you will find, I think, that the amount of crime in this part of the island is less than in most parts of England, and that the offences are generally of a lighter character. I now add the following, which I think is highly gratifying, proving, that so far from crime increasing, it has rather diminished within the last few years.

"In the Penitentiary, and all other prisons in the island, the *daily average* of prisoners in the year 1849 was 950, and in 1850 it increased to 1000, in a population of 377,433, or upwards of one in 400; while in 1855 it was only 684, or, allowing for increase of population, little more than one in 600.

"As regards the social condition of the people, I cannot speak with the same confidence of other parts of the island as of this neighbourhood; but respecting it I can say, from actual knowledge, that it is generally highly satisfactory. I say generally, for there are some who live in as degraded a state as in the days of Slavery.

"During the past four years of freedom, a large portion of the people under my care were compelled to make vigorous efforts to obtain land and houses of their own; and in connection with my congregation, 255 persons purchased land, for which they paid 3242*l.*, and erected houses which were roughly valued at 6300*l.*, or about 25*l.* each. Now many of these people have added considerably to their freeholds, and some have built commodious and respectable houses, worth from 100*l.* to 300*l.* each. Very recently one of my members bought a piece of land adjoining this town, measuring less than three acres, for 79*l.*; another a small run of twelve acres for 180*l.*; another, a thrown-up property of thirty acres for 150*l.*; and three others have joined in purchasing a place of 188 acres for 300*l.* There cannot now be fewer than 500 families, in connection

with this one congregation, settled on their own little freeholds; and although, with a few exceptions, they are day-labourers, working for ninepence and shilling a day, yet by the help of their provision-grounds they mostly live in tolerable comfort, and dress respectably: they crowd to chapel on the Sabbath-day, and the children attend school: they not only supply the market with provisions and sugar, but export considerable quantities of coffee and pimento; and, taking them as a whole, they are, I believe, as happy and prosperous a peasantry as any on the face of the earth.

"There are, however, cases of poverty and distress; but I am glad to say that the religious part of the community take good care of their aged relatives and friends; and I doubt whether, in any parish in England with so large a population as this, there is so small a pauper-roll.

"Perhaps I cannot give you a better idea of the state of religion in many parts of the island, than by a few facts and figures relative to this parish of St. Ann. The parish itself is very large—nearly 30 miles in length by about 20 in width—as large as some English counties. By the last census it contained 25,823 inhabitants, probably now increased to 28,000 or 30,000. It contains seven places of worship connected with the Church of England, capable of containing about 3000 hearers; eleven Wesleyan Chapels, accommodating 5500; twelve Baptist Chapels, accommodating upwards of 8000; and two connected with the *London Missionary Society*, and two, *Wesleyan Association*, accommodating 1000 more: in all, 17,500; and the attendance at these several places appears to range from 12,000 to 15,000. Our Wesleyan friends number about 3000 members; Baptists, 3700; and there are probably 1300 in communion with other churches; making in all about 8000 professors of religion. It is to be feared that some of these have a form of godliness without the power thereof; but there can be no question that a large proportion of them are truly Christian people, adorning the doctrine of God their Saviour.

"We however greatly need a larger number of devoted earnest men as Missionaries and teachers, who will labour to promote the temporal advancement of the people, as well as seek their eternal salvation.

THE DRED SCOTT CASE.

A NEW appeal case has just been decided in the United-States Supreme Court, which, having been decided against the appellant, a negro named Dred Scott, by a peculiar interpretation of the Constitution, is likely to "stand as a landmark" in the history of the anti-slavery struggle. The decision has given rise to another of those fierce controversies which have been so successful in opening the eyes of the public in the United

States to the danger its free institutions incur from the constant aggressions of the slave-power: and we believe its result must be ultimately favourable to the cause of freedom.

The facts of the case are as follows. We take leave to republish them from the *Radical Abolitionist* for April ult., together with a portion of the editor's very able comments upon them.

"THE FACTS OF THE CASE.

"Dred Scott, held as a slave in Missouri, was carried by his master, Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the United-States' army, to Fort Snelling in Illinois, a free State. Harriet was held as a slave by Major Talliaferro, of the United-States' army, and by him was also carried to Fort Snelling, where she became the wife of Dred Scott. After a time, Dr. Emerson removed back with them to Missouri. On their way down the river, but while 'north of Missouri,' Eliza, the eldest child of Dred Scott and Harriet, was born. A second child, Lizzie, was born in Missouri afterwards. By numerous Southern decisions, they were all entitled to their freedom, on the ground that Slavery is a local institution, the creature of municipal law, and that when slaves are carried out of that jurisdiction with the consent of their masters, they become free, and cannot again be held as slaves. In the mean time, Dr. Emerson had sold them to one J. F. H. Sanford, against whom the suit for freedom was brought by Dred Scott. The case came before the Supreme Court, 'on a writ of error from the Circuit Court for the District of Missouri.' The plaintiff (Scott) alleged that he was a citizen of Missouri, and that the defendant (Sanford) was a citizen of the State of New York. Sanford, on his part, pleaded that Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri, 'because he is a negro, of African descent, his ancestors were of pure African blood, and were brought into this country, and sold as negro slaves.' The decision, in Missouri, it seems, had been against Dred Scott and his family, but he had brought the case, by writ of error, to the United-States' Supreme Court.

"ACTION OF THE SUPREME COURT.

"Five, out of the nine judges, with Chief Justice Taney at their head, united in an opinion, which not only spurned the application of Dred Scott, but, on the strength of the same principle flouted into the faces of the so-called free States the extra-judicial taunt, that they had no power to keep Slavery out of the new territories, nor even to preserve their own soil from pollution! Two of the judges, Nelson and Grier, united in kicking the coloured man out of Court, but lacked the nerve to join in the gratuitous insult offered to Northern and Western freemen. The remaining two, McLean and Curtiss, dissented in toto from the conclusions of the majority, and presented elaborate arguments against them.

"The following points are distinctly affirmed by Judge Taney:

"That 'a negro whose ancestors were imported and sold as slaves'—'could not be a citizen of Missouri within the meaning of the Constitution, nor a citizen of the United States, and, consequently, not entitled to sue in its courts.'

"2. That the Act of Congress (after the adoption of the Constitution) re-enacting the Ordinance of the Old Congress of 1787, excluding Slavery from the North-West Territory, (under which Dred Scott and his family claimed their freedom,) was not 'authorized by the powers granted to Congress by the Constitution.' Neither had the Old Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, any right to make such an ordinance, but only 'a right to accept the land for the common benefit,' (i. e.) for the purposes of slaveholding, as well as for any other purposes!

"3. 'That the Act of Congress which prohibits citizens from holding property of this character, north of a certain line, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void, and neither Dred Scott nor any of his family were made free by their residence in Illinois. The plaintiff was not a citizen of Missouri, but was still a slave, and therefore had no right to sue in a Court of the United States.'

"(This sets aside the Missouri Compromise as unconstitutional.)

"4. That since Congress has no right to exclude Slavery from a territory, 'Congress cannot unauthorize the territories to do what it cannot do itself: it cannot confer on territories power to violate the provisions of the Constitution.'—And so the territories cannot exclude Slavery.

"5. An individual does not acquire his freedom by being carried from a slave State into a free State. Dred Scott was therefore a slave when he was brought back from Illinois to Missouri. Therefore he was not a citizen of Missouri, nor a citizen of the United States who could sue in the United-States' Courts. *This Court can give no judgment, and hence the suit must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.*

"6. 'It does not follow that a man being a citizen of one State must be recognised as such by every State in the Union.'

"All these points were directly passed upon by Judge Taney, and (so far as he was able to do it) judicially determined. Other points, in the same direction, were virtually involved, such as the following:

"LOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THIS ACTION.

"1. That slaves, being property, may be carried by their owners wherever they please, and no State has a right, under the Constitution, to exclude or liberate them. This is, in fact, only a repetition of the fifth point already noticed as laid down by Judge Taney himself. This shews how the Chief-Justice would decide the pending case of *Virginia versus New York*, if it should come before the Supreme Court. And this implies,

"2. That all State laws abolishing Slavery are unconstitutional. This ground has been distinctly taken by Mr. Branch, member of Congress from North Carolina.

"3. That all Acts of Congress prohibiting the importation of slaves from abroad are unconstitutional, and also all laws of the States prohibiting the landing, selling, and holding of imported slaves. The fact that Dred Scott's 'ancestors were imported and sold as slaves,' was set forth, in the plea of the slaveholder, Sanford, as the basis of his claim, and the validity of the claim is argued and affirmed by Judge Taney. This supposes the slave-trade to have

been legitimate and lawful. And the arguments he brings in proof that neither Congress nor the territories, nor, in fact, the States, (though he does not directly name them in that connexion,) cannot exclude slaves or Slavery coming in from the slave States, would be equally good to prove that slaves coming from abroad cannot be excluded.

"Undoubtedly, each and every one of these three points was intended to be reached, directly or indirectly, by the decision. Submission to the five points expressly affirmed by Judge Taney would inevitably include submission to these also.

"A RIDICULOUS PREDICAMENT.

"And all these points the learned and profound Chief-Justice had to discuss and to determine upon, both in respect to the law and to the facts, in the case of Dred Scott, in order to reach his ultimate conclusion, namely, that 'the suit of Dred Scott *versus* J. F. H. Sanford, must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction!' Yes. Incredible as it may appear, this was the process! Dred Scott presents himself in Court, claiming that he is *not* a slave, but a free man. The facts of the case are gone into, the law is laid down and applied to those facts. By this process it is claimed to have been proved, first, that Dred Scott, for being a coloured man, cannot sue in the United-States' Courts; and, secondly, that Dred Scott, being a slave, cannot sue in the United-States' Courts, not even to have the question tested, *whether he be a slave or no!* And so, for want of jurisdiction, the case is ruled out of Court, after that the Court, *without jurisdiction*, has tried the question of Dred Scott's freedom, decided him to be a slave, and therefore, *because a slave, not a citizen of Missouri*; and that *therefore* he cannot sue, and *therefore* the Court has no jurisdiction!

"Verily, the science of pro-slavery law is a most profound and intricate science! No marvel that the dissenting Judges and that the Republican Editors should complain that the Court travelled out of the record, and while *disclaiming jurisdiction*, not only decided the case brought before it, but undertook to decide a number of disputed political questions, by extra-judicial opinions. No wonder that Judge Curtiss and the *New-York Tribune* do not consider any decision of this Court, or any Court, binding, when expressed on a question not legitimately before it."

It may be observed that this important case (which was decided on the 6th March) involves the question of the rights of coloured persons to be considered citizens; the constitutionality of the Ordinance of 1787; and of the Missouri Compromise. There were eight Judges, viz. Wayne, Daniel, Grier, Campbell, constituting the majority; and McLean, Catron, Nelson, and Curtiss. Five of the nine silk gowns on the Bench are worn by slaveholders. More than half its long Bench is filled with slaveholders. Its Chief-Justice is a slaveholder. The free States, with double the population of the slave States, do not have half the Judges. The majority represent a minority of 350,000. The minority represent a majority of twenty millions!

The *Albany Journal* thus comments upon the above fact:

"It has long been so. Originally there were three Northern and three Southern Judges. But the South soon got the bigger share of the black robes, and kept them. Of the thirty-eight who have sat there in judgment, twenty-two were nurtured 'on plantations.' The slave States have been masters of the Court fifty-seven years; the free States but eleven! The free States have had the majority only seven years, this century. Even the free State Judges are chosen from slavery-extending parties. Presidents nominate and Senates will confirm none other. Three times a new Judgeship has been created, and every time it has been filled with a slaveholder. The advocate who pleads there against slavery, wastes his voice in its vaulted roof, and upon ears stuffed sixty years with cotton. His case is judged before it is argued, and his client condemned before he is heard."

The Pennsylvania Legislature has taken the subject up. On the 23d instant, Mr. Harris introduced the following resolutions. They led to considerable discussion, and were ultimately referred to a Select Committee:

"Whereas the Supreme Court, ordained by the Constitution as the highest sanctuary of justice, through the preponderance which the slave oligarchy possesses in its councils, has become little else than the willing tool of the pro-slavery politicians, and has rendered a judgment in the Dred Scott case which is a more monstrous prevarication of truth and right than any to be found in the records of any nation calling itself free and enlightened: therefore,

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, That the recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, by which the Ordinance of 1787, prohibiting Slavery in the North-western Territory, and the Missouri Compromise, which for ever prohibited Slavery or involuntary servitude in all that territory now contained in the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, are declared unconstitutional and void, and which decided the National Constitution confers expressly property in slaves, and guarantees that right to every State, is a flagrant outrage upon the sixteen free States of the Union, and making Negro Slavery a national institution; and that we believe, with Judges McLean and Curtiss, that the Court exceeded its jurisdiction in making that decision, and that it has no binding authority over a free people."

BRITISH ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

WAKEFIELD LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A MEETING of ladies was held in the Music Saloon, Wakefield, on the 31st March 1857, at which Miss Griffiths, Corresponding Secretary of the *Rochester (U.S.) Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society*, gave interesting details of the proceedings of that Society, and of the aspects of Slavery at the present time. It was decided to form an Anti-Slavery Society among the Ladies of Wakefield, and to adopt the

Constitution of the Sheffield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association.*

Thirty-one ladies gave their names as members of the Society.

ELIZABETH DAWSON, Sec.

THE BARNSELY LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

On the 26th of March, and 1st and 8th of April, 1857, meetings of ladies were held in Barnsley, to consider the subject of American Slavery.

On each occasion Miss Julia Griffiths attended. At the second meeting it was unanimously resolved to form a Ladies' Branch in Barnsley, and chiefly adopt the Constitution of the *Sheffield Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association*.

At the third meeting resolutions were adopted identical with those passed by other meetings, got up through Miss Griffiths' instrumentality, for the purpose of promoting the success of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, and constituting a new Society at Barnsley. The following ladies were enrolled as office-bearers:

President,	Mrs. Willan.
Vice-President,	Mrs. B. Beddow.
Treasurer,	Mrs. Richardson.
Secretaries,	{ Miss Smith.
	{ Miss Taylor.

THE ROTHERHAM LADIES ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATION.

On Monday, the 16th, and on Friday, the 20th March, ult. (a number of ladies, of Rotherham, met together in the Mechanics' Institute, to receive Miss Griffiths, when they agreed to form themselves into an Association, to be called *The Rotherham Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association*. The following ladies were appointed office-bearers:

President,	Mrs. Yates.
Treasurer,	Mrs. Taylor.
Hon. Secretaries,	{ Miss Brown.
	{ Miss Robinson.†

LEEDS YOUNG MEN'S ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A meeting of this Society was held at Andrew's Temperance Hotel, on the evening of the 17th March, the President of the Society, Wilson Armistead, in the Chair. In opening the proceedings, he observed:

He rejoiced in the formation of the *Leeds Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society*, and assured them he had great hopes as to the effects of its labours.

He would now call upon Mr. Tetley to read a paper he had prepared upon Frederick Douglass.

Mr. Tetley then proceeded to read his Paper, commencing with a statement of the fact so fully borne out in the history of many of the fugitives from the degrading state of Slavery, that, "the truly great and good are not confined to any rank of society. Genius, in all its variety of strength and brilliancy, entertains no respect of persons, but, by the general distribution and location of its gifts, magnifies its power and extends its influence. Erudition does not always enshrine itself in those minds who rule in mammon's golden sphere; nay, it oftentimes takes up its abode with the lowly, and delights to bestow its wisdom in those phases of society where adventitious circumstances are unknown, and where the fabric of man's royalty is not based upon the merit of an ancestral lineage, but upon the sterling worth of its own noble deeds. The embryo genius in a working-man's soul, gradually developing itself by the various circumstances which cross his path, rises from the low regions in which Providence has placed it, takes and maintains a position of rank amongst lofty intellects, and though, ere it has reached the goal, it may have encountered many hot battles and keen conflicts in life, yet it shines none the less, yea, its brilliancy is often more striking, and the fire of bitter adversity has imbued it with a spirit of vigour and hardihood that is dauntless in its bravery, invincible in its power. In direct antagonism, however, to this onward march of intellect, there are many vices and systems in the world, arising either from within or from without, which have a great and growing tendency to crush and destroy, if possible, the rising intellects under their sway or control; and the least manifestations of intellectual superiority in any mind is the general signal for a concentration of destroying power to be directed against its hapless victim."

Such a man Mr. Tetley described Frederick Douglass to be. After tracing with graphic interest some of the most remarkable of the various vicissitudes of his chequered and eventful life, describing more particularly the striking features of his character, "power of perception and observation, together with a thorough independence and manliness of spirit," which enabled him to overcome the greatest difficulties, and to surmount the most formidable barriers to obtain and assert his right to freedom, he alluded to the talents of Douglass as a writer, and his powers as a public speaker. Contrasting his position in slavery and in freedom, Mr. Tetley justly observed, that "the transformation from his first condition to his present one seems almost incomprehensible; but the potency of energy and determination nobly fulfil in him their highest characteristics, and we hail him as a type of at least a portion of that neglected race, which, if uplifted by one grand effort from that

* Vide April Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. (Ed. A. S. R.)

† The objects and the Constitution of this Society being perfectly similar to others founded by Miss Griffiths, we do not think it necessary to repeat them. (Ed. A. S. R.)

deep abyss in which they exist, and whose loathsome darkness constitutes the great gulph between them and civilization, would faithfully fulfil the purposes of their being, and act well their part in the great economy of human nature."

After some very aptly-described inferences as to the evils existing under the sanction of the slave system, essentially inhuman and detestable, as revealed in the history of Douglass, Mr. Tetley spoke indignantly of the fact of this system being upheld by the religious bodies of America. "Religion, as revealed to us in the New Testament, and as practised under the gospel dispensation, cannot consistently traffic with humanity and make merchandise of men. The human body, with its wondrous mechanism and noble powers—the casket of an immortal soul—the moving agent through which that soul acts—the vehicle of thought—was never destined by its Creator to be the subject of the revolting cruelty practised under and authorised by the slave laws of America. Genuine piety, as the spirit of love and gentleness, the balm for wounded hearts, and the cordial for human woe, cannot possibly tolerate the existence of so dire an evil; while the supposition of its co-existence with Slavery would surely be no better than blasphemy. Religion, however, in the Slave States, has become corrupt and ungodlike. Its bold hypocrisy is only paralleled by its insolent effrontery, and its ministers and deacons, yea, the whole Church of Christ, (if such it may be called,) complacently reconciles the enslavement of their fellow-creatures with the gospel of Christ. Slavery is a religious evil of a two-fold character, inasmuch as it not only renders religion amenable to the scorn and ridicule of men by its inconsistent practices, but it has actually entrenched itself in the church, being the very altar of its devotion and worship. Its ministers think it no degradation to pursue the avocation of slave-drivers or slave-proprietors. One day they stand up to proclaim the gospel, and the next, without the slightest hesitation, they will sell a human being, or brutally chastise his body for some fancied dereliction of duty. Their churches are constituted of slaveholders, overseers, and slaves; and the two former have linked themselves in one inseparable bond of holy brotherhood to perpetuate their system and extend its power: they admit no one to their fellowship whose principles are not strictly pro-slavery, and their indignation and wrath against any man who should dare to assert one doubt respecting the lawfulness of their power, would vent itself in a summary and most unchristian manner. Slavery in the world, as sustained by men who make no profession of religion is vile enough; but when it steals the livery of heaven, and masks its hideous features with a saintly sanctity, and lifts up its impious voice in the

church as a thing of God, it is threefold more hateful in its character, and horrible in its revelations."

"We might, with great propriety," continued Mr. Tetley, "draw a veil over the evil of Slavery as presented in its moral aspect. Humanity recoils from, and virtue shudders at, its guilt. Moral virtues, in its consideration, are but the fancies of imagination—baubles to be played with or sacrificed at the mere caprice of a master or overseer, whose lusts are unbounded by civil law. Passion runs riot as the great iconoclast—the destroyer of purity." &c. &c.

Glancing at the social, political, and physical evils of Slavery, Mr. Tetley drew the following appropriate contrast: "In our own country we are often heard speaking of the evil of late hours, and many of us have experienced the feeble reaction of muscular power after extraordinary exertion or extra toil, but the slave's hours of labour are much longer than ours, his toils much more enervating and insidious in its attacks upon his human strength; for when the first rays of the day's bright orb, struggling faint and weak through the dense mist of early morning, announce the approach of day, and tinge with lurid hue the mountain-tops that gird the eastern horizon, the slave is roused from his couch of ashes, and goes forth to his toil. That toil knows but a momentary rest until evening. The sun mounts higher and higher, describing its glorious arc across the heavens, and still the slave toils on, goaded to effort by the cruel lash. And when the lengthening shadows of its departed glory gradually lift themselves from the landscape, and are lost in the black and heavy clouds of night, then the slave wearily labours homewards, if such his miserable hut may be termed, and finds his only earthly rest in the short lapse of time that intervenes between the approach of night and the dawn of morning."

"I have," said Mr. Tetley, in conclusion, "feebly laid before you the expression of my own thoughts upon that subject, which, as a Society, you feel to be of paramount interest, one well worthy of your attention; and in the strife for whose abolition you may properly use your noblest powers. Years on years have rolled wearily on, during whose progress the slave has groined beneath his fetters, destitute alike of mental aspiration or spiritual hopes: fitful glimpses of a pardon have flushed in upon their darkness, by the occasional successful escape of one of their number, but it has only been like the lightning's gleam in a dark and terrible storm, revealing for a point of time their debased condition and heartrending woe: the heartwails of their bondage have long risen up to God's throne of equitable justice; and the sword of vengeance even now glistens in its descent—it comes—yet nearer and nearer still,—already by anticipation

their fetters are snapped asunder, and, rising from the abasement of their slavery, they become conscious of their freedom's glory. Young men, it is for you to act well and nobly your part in bringing speedily upon them the halcyon day of their liberty. Define well now your plan of labour; enter fearlessly the field of your activities; and, praying that the blessing of God may crown your efforts with success, labour on—labour on—labour on; for, in the language of the subject of our paper, 'the anti-slavery cause is not a new thing under the sun; not some moral delusion which a few years' experience may dispel. It has appeared among men in all ages, and summoned its advocates from all ranks. Its foundations are laid in the deepest and holiest convictions; and from whatever soul the demon-selfishness is expelled, there will this cause take up its abode—old as the everlasting hills—immoveable as the throne of God, and certain as the purposes of the Eternal Power: against all hindrances, and against all delays, and despite all the mutations of human instrumentalities, it is the faith of my soul that the anti-slavery cause will triumph!'"

The President observed, that although he was far from approving of the course pursued by Frederick Douglass and his agents in depreciating the character of some of the members of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, whom he must look upon as the great pioneers in the cause of freedom, he had felt much interested in the valuable paper just read, respecting an individual, who, in many respects, is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of the age. In anticipation of this evening's Paper, he had taken up the narrative of Douglass a few evenings ago; and though he had thought himself as fully convinced as any man could be of the atrocious wickedness of Slavery, he rose from its perusal with increased feelings of horror and disgust, especially when its abominations are practised by professedly Christian men. He had marked several passages illustrative of such atrocious crimes, but would close with these remarks, hoping some of his friends would offer their observations.

An interesting discussion followed, in which the Rev. William Hudswell and others took part; and a vote of thanks to the reader of the Paper, and to the President as Chairman, being passed, the Meeting separated, not without, it is hoped, a renewed determination to labour on, hand and heart, in behalf of the oppressed slave.

Mr. Tetley's Paper has subsequently been read by him before the *Leeds Young Men's Christian Institute*.

EDINBURGH LADIES' EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

We have been favoured with the Annual Report of this Society, which is now in the twenty-fifth year of its existence. It is a

very interesting document, and proves how much may be done to aid a good cause by well-directed efforts, though with small means. The total receipts for the year 1856-57 were 132*l.* 17*s.*, the total expenditure 125*l.* 17*s.*

FREDERICK DOUGLASS' PAPER.

WE have been requested to publish the following list of Donations to *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, and to state, that when the effort was commenced to place it on a safe foundation, it was more than Three Hundred Pounds in debt.

We would call attention to the subjoined extract of a letter from the Rev. J. M'Cune Smith, on the good which *Frederick Douglass' Paper* is accomplishing.*

"New York, Jan. 4, 1857.

"It is a sad truth, yet it is a truth, that the coloured people in this land have yet to be educated into the knowledge that they have a cause, and into the duty that they must maintain that cause.

"It is expecting too much to look for this education at the hands of our priesthood: poorly paid at best, they have a hard struggle to win their own bread, without meddling in matters of general interest.

"There is, therefore, no means of education left except a press, especially devoted to this work. It may seem strange that this people do not support amply a press of their own: we have the money ability so to do if we would; but this very support of a press by us would argue the existence of that very education about our cause and our duty of which I have just spoken.

"Herein consists the need of a thorough maintenance of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*: it is doing what is needed towards this preliminary education of the coloured people, better than any paper we have ever had among us. It should be so supported, that in addition to the copies sent to the paying subscribers, there should be two or three thousand every week gratuitously distributed among the people of colour. We have been so long and sorely oppressed, that we have much to unlearn, much to learn. And we are like all other frail human creatures—very slow in the reception, slower in the practice of good moral instruction. 'Line upon line and precept upon precept' must be apparently wasted upon us; and by-and-by we will stand up as we ought for the good cause.

"The good *Frederick Douglass' Paper* will do and has done the coloured people is a direct assistance to the cause of Abolition. The friends of Slavery, driven from argument to argument, finally point to the Blacks, and exclaim in triumph, 'See them! Are they benefiting by freedom?' So long as we can point to Frederick Douglass and his paper, we have a triumphant reply to that question: they both stand full in clear living light, and prove more than a volume of statistics

* Subscriptions and Donations may be addressed to Louis Alexis Chamerovzow, 27 New Broad Street, City, made payable at the Post Office, Bishopsgate Within. Subscriptions to the paper, payable in advance, Ten Shillings a-year.

of our relative freedom from vice, crime, and poverty.

"There is more than the elevation of the free coloured people, more than the disenthralment from chattel Slavery, involved in the great cause which *Frederick Douglass' Paper* advocates, and to which its editor is devoting the best energies of his life: truth, and liberty, and Christianity itself, which constitutes both, are at stake.

"If the American people, with the Bible in one hand and the principles of English Common Law in the other, are permitted by British Christianity, without steady and constant rebuke, to go on and trample down God's poor, then will the Bible principles and the doctrines of personal liberty be blotted out from among the elements of human progress.

"I do not know, my dear Miss Griffiths, that I have made this matter very clear: I am within the fated circle, and may not have a proper stand point for right and accurate vision. Subjected daily to the petty annoyances of a caste-cursed country, hourly indignant at the perpetration of almost sanctified wrong, my feelings may be overwrought and my judgment clouded. Yet here I am, thank God, with my face to the foe, and with no thought of flinching till I die.

"JAMES M'CUNE SMITH."

DONATIONS IN AID OF FREDERICK DOUGLAS'S PAPER.

Ackroyd, Miss, <i>Halifax</i>	1	0	0
A few Friends, per Mrs. Swan, <i>Edinb.</i>	2	0	0
A few Friends in Dr. Johnston and De Percy Church, <i>ditto</i>	6	10	0
A few Friends in the Rev. Mr. Ewen's Church, <i>ditto</i>	3	0	0
A few Friends in the Rev. Mr. Croon's Church, <i>ditto</i>	2	5	0
A few Friends, by Mrs. H. Richardson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne	5	0	0
A Friend, <i>Birmingham</i>	3	0	0
A Friend, by Miss Leishman, <i>Edinb.</i>	0	10	0
A Friend, <i>Glasgow</i>	1	0	0
A Friend, <i>Greenock</i>	0	10	0
A Friend, <i>Leicester</i>	0	10	0
A Friend, <i>Sheffield</i>	1	0	0
A Friend, <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0
Aitkin, Miss, <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0
Allan, Alexander, <i>Glasgow</i>	2	0	0
Allan, James, <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0
Allen and Gillaspie, Messrs, <i>Liverpool</i>	5	0	0
Allen, Richard, <i>Dublin</i>	3	0	0
Allott, Alfred, <i>Sheffield</i>	0	10	0
Anti-slavery Friends, <i>Brechin</i>	4	16	0
Arnold, Mrs. Walker, <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0
A. R., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0
Ardmillan, Lord, <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0
Baines, Edward, <i>Leeds</i>	1	0	0
Bainbridge, Mr. and Mrs., <i>Derby</i>	0	7	6
Bagster, Rev. J. E., <i>Dundee</i>	1	0	0
Barclay, R., <i>Glasgow</i>	2	0	0
Belfast Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	2	0	0
Benson, Thomas, <i>Manchester</i>	3	0	0
Benton, William, <i>Edinburgh</i>	3	0	0
Benson, E. L. S., <i>Sheffield</i>	5	0	0
Biggs, John, <i>Leicester</i>	0	10	0
Birmingham Ladies' Negro-Friend Society	4	0	0
Ditto (Second Don.)	5	0	0
Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society	5	0	0
Black and Wingate, <i>Glasgow</i>	1	0	0
Boyle, J. Y.	0	5	0

BOYS AT THE GLASGOW HOUSE OF REFUGE

Borwick, the Rev. W. B., <i>Dundee</i>	1	0	0
Bradford Ladies Anti-Slavery Society	5	0	0
Brice, Mr., <i>Glasgow</i>	1	0	0
BRITISH SCHOOL-CHILDREN, <i>Ipsstock</i>	0	6	6
Brookhouse, Miss, <i>Leicester</i>	0	10	0
Brown, S. R., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Brown, Matthew, <i>Greenock</i>	3	0	0
Brown, W., by Mrs. Carpenter, <i>Halifax</i>	10	0	0
Burgess, E. H. and M.A., <i>Leicester</i>	1	0	0
Caird, Mrs., <i>Greenock</i>	1	0	0
Campbell, Mrs. J. Alexander, <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0
Campbell, J. and W., <i>ditto</i>	2	0	0
Candlish, the Rev. Dr., <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0
Captor Hamlin, <i>Greenock</i>	0	10	0
Cearns, Mrs., <i>Liverpool</i>	0	10	0
Chelmsford Negro-Friend Society	0	12	6
Clark, E. H., <i>Nottingham</i>	3	0	0
Clogher Ladies Anti-Slavery Association	1	0	0
Collection, Lecture by Rev. Alexander Raleigh, <i>Glasgow</i>	4	5	9
Collection from two Lectures by Rev. A. Wallace, <i>Edinburgh</i>	15	5	3
Coulard, John, <i>Chelmsford</i>	2	0	0
Corah, Edwin, <i>Leicester</i>	0	5	0
Cropper, John, <i>Liverpool</i>	5	0	0
Cropper, Edward, <i>ditto</i>	5	0	0
Cropper, Hon. Mrs. E., <i>ditto</i>	3	12	6
Crossfield, Mrs. W., <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0
Crossley, John, <i>Halifax</i>	5	0	0
Crowley, Mrs., <i>Birmingham</i>	1	0	0
Cullen, Mrs., <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0
Cullen, Miss, <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0
Curtis, Mrs., <i>Greenock</i>	0	5	0
Dale, Rev. R. W., <i>Birmingham</i>	0	10	0
Darby, Miss Lucy, by Mrs. Sturge, <i>ditto</i>	5	0	0
Darby, Miss M., by <i>ditto</i> , <i>ditto</i>	5	0	0
Davis, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Dawson, George, <i>Birmingham</i>	1	1	0
Derby Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	10	0	0
Dum, James, <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Duncan, Dr., <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0
Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society	10	0	0
Easson, Alexander, <i>Dundee</i>	1	0	0
Edinburgh Ladies' New Association for the Abolition of Slavery	5	0	0
Ditto (Second Don.)	5	0	0
Ellis, Alfred, <i>Leicester</i>	0	5	0
Ellis, Joseph and Sons, <i>ditto</i>	1	10	0
Evans, Samuel, <i>Derby</i>	2	0	0
Fairie, Thomas, <i>Greenock</i>	5	0	0
Fawcett, William, <i>Sheffield</i>	2	0	0
Finlay, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Fleming, Mrs., <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0
Fleming, the Misses, <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0
Four Friends, <i>Birmingham</i>	1	0	0
Fox, Samuel, <i>Nottingham</i>	1	0	0
Freeland, Robert, <i>Glasgow</i>	1	0	0
Friends, by Mrs. R. L. Carpenter, <i>Halifax</i>	10	0	0
Friends, by Mrs. Robberds, <i>Liverpool</i>	1	10	0
Friends, <i>Sheffield</i>	0	10	0
Fryer, Frederick, <i>Leeds</i>	1	0	0
Gallie, George, <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0
Gillfillan, Rev. G., <i>Dundee</i>	1	0	0
Gill, Thomas, <i>Nottingham</i>	1	0	0
GIRLS AT THE GLASGOW HOUSE OF REFUGE	0	10	6
Glasgow New Association for the Abolition of Slavery	30	0	0

Goodrick, G. and A. W., <i>Birmingham</i>	1	0	0	Paton, W. P., <i>Glasgow</i>	3	0	0
Gow, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0	Pearson, Adam, <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0
Grant, the Misses, <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	10	0	Perry, Mr., <i>Chelmsford</i>	1	0	0
Greenock Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	5	0	0	Playfair, James, <i>Glasgow</i>	2	0	0
Greenwood, Mrs., <i>Chelmsford</i>	1	0	0	Playfair, Mrs., <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0
Grey, Mrs. Henry, <i>Edinburgh</i>	3	0	0	Pyemsmith, Mrs., <i>Sheffield</i>	1	0	0
Grierson, Mr., <i>ditto</i>	1	1	0	R. D. and C., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0
Griffiths, I. F., <i>Birmingham</i>	0	10	0	Redhead, Mrs., <i>Huddersfield</i>	0	5	0
Handigrade, P. D., <i>Dundee</i>	0	10	6	Reid, Rev. W., <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0
Hannan, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0	Richie, Rev. T. B., <i>Dundee</i>	0	5	0
Hardie, Mrs., <i>Greenock</i>	0	10	0	Robson, Mrs., <i>Huddersfield</i>	0	5	0
Harris, Richard, <i>Leicester</i>	1	0	0	Robson, the Rev. Dr., <i>Glasgow</i>	4	12	6
Harrison, Miss, <i>Sheffield</i>	1	0	0	Robertson, Mrs., <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0
Harrison, Mrs., <i>Bagworth</i>	1	0	0	Rough, George, <i>Dundee</i>	1	0	0
Harvey, Thomas, <i>Leeds</i>	0	10	0	Ryland, Arthur, <i>Birmingham</i>	1	0	0
Harvie, Alexander, <i>Glasgow</i>	1	0	0	Shaftesbury, the Earl, <i>London</i>	5	0	0
Hay, J. M., <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0	Shaw, Mrs. J., <i>Huddersfield</i>	0	10	0
Herbert, Thomas, <i>Nottingham</i>	1	0	0	Shore, Miss, <i>Sheffield</i>	1	0	0
Hind, Benjamin H., <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0	Sims, Henry, by Mrs. E. Sturge, <i>Birmingham</i>	0	10	0
Hincks, the Rev. Dr., <i>Belfast</i>	1	0	0	Smith, Peter, <i>Dundee</i>	0	10	0
Hincks, the Misses, <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0	Smith, Robert, <i>Glasgow</i>	5	0	0
Hobson, J., <i>Sheffield</i>	1	0	0	Smith, David and John, <i>ditto</i>	2	0	0
Hodgson, John, <i>Mansfield</i>	3	0	0	Smith, S., <i>Birmingham</i>	1	0	0
Hogland, W. F., <i>Derby</i>	1	0	0	Smith, F. G., <i>Sheffield</i>	0	10	0
Horsburgh, Mr., <i>Dundee</i>	0	10	6	Smythers, —, <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0
Howden, Mrs., <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0	Stewart, Rev. A. Moody, <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0
Howell, Mrs., <i>Liverpool</i>	1	0	0	Stewart, Mr., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Hunter, J. O., <i>Greenock</i>	1	0	0	Stewart, Mrs., <i>Sheffield</i>	1	0	0
Irvine, Mrs., <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	10	0	Stoke Newington Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association	2	0	0
Jackson, J., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0	Sturge, Joseph, <i>Birmingham</i>	10	0	0
James, Miss, <i>Birmingham</i>	0	5	0	Sturge, Charles, <i>ditto</i>	5	0	0
Jameson, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0	Sturge, Edmund, <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0
Johns, William, <i>Chelmsford</i>	1	0	0	Swan, Rev. William, <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0
Johnston, the Rev. Dr. G., <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0	Thirteen Friends, <i>Glasgow</i>	2	3	6
Johnston, A. R., <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0	Thoms, J. H., <i>Dundee</i>	1	0	0
Jowett, Robert, <i>Leeds</i>	2	0	0	Thompson, Mrs., by Miss Hincks, <i>ditto</i>	0	10	0
Kaye, Mrs., <i>Huddersfield</i>	0	10	0	Trench, Mr., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Keith, J., <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0	Turnbul, John, <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0
Ker, the Rev. John, <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0	Turner, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Kerr, Mrs., <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0	Turner, Mrs., <i>Greenock</i>	0	5	0
Lamb, David, <i>Brechin</i>	1	0	0	Turner, T., <i>Sheffield</i>	0	10	0
Law, Alexander, <i>Dundee</i>	0	10	0	Tutton, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
Leitch, Mrs., <i>Liverpool</i>	0	10	0	Two Friends, <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	10	0
Lillie, William, <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0	Two Friends, by Mrs. Reyburn, <i>Greenock</i>	0	5	0
Liverpool Ladies' Anti-Slavery Assoc.	11	1	6	Two Friends, <i>Halifax</i>	0	7	6
Lockhardt, N. and Son, <i>Kirkcaldy</i>	1	1	0	Two Friends, <i>Derby</i>	1	0	0
Longdon, F., <i>Derby</i>	1	0	0	Two Friends, <i>Montrose</i>	0	7	6
Lorimer, Rev. Dr. J. G., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0	Two Friends, <i>Arbroath</i>	0	7	6
Lowe, Mrs., <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0	Wall, Miss, <i>Sheffield</i>	1	0	0
M'Andrew, Mrs., <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	8	Wallace, Rev. A., <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	10	0
M'Andrews, Mrs. John, <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0	Ward, Mrs., <i>Liverpool</i>	0	10	0
Macauley, C., <i>Leicester</i>	0	5	0	Watson, P., <i>Dundee</i>	0	10	6
M'Dougal, Rev. J. M., <i>Dundee</i>	0	10	0	Waters, Samuel, <i>Leicester</i>	0	5	0
Macdonald, D. and J., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0	Wells, N. C., <i>Chelmsford</i>	1	0	0
M'Dowall, John, <i>ditto</i>	3	0	0	Wemiss, Mrs., <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0
M'Gavin, John, <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0	Wheatstone, Jos., <i>Leicester</i>	0	10	0
M'Gavin, Rev. T. K., <i>Dundee</i>	1	0	0	Whitelaw, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0
M'Lauren, Duncan, <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0	Wigham, John, jun., <i>Edinburgh</i>	2	0	0
Martindale, Senhouse, <i>Liverpool</i>	0	10	0	Williams, Mrs., <i>Huddersfield</i>	0	10	0
Miller, James, <i>Greenock</i>	0	5	0	Williams, Mrs., <i>Leicester</i>	0	5	0
More, J. S., <i>Edinburgh</i>	1	0	0	Wilson, William, <i>Mansfield</i>	1	0	0
Morris, Alexander, <i>Manchester</i>	2	0	0	Wilson, Mrs., <i>Glasgow</i>	0	10	0
Morris, Miss, <i>Glasgow</i>	1	0	0	Wood, Miss Eliza, <i>Huddersfield</i>	0	10	0
Muir and Jamieson, D. and J., <i>ditto</i>	1	0	0	Woodhill, T. C., <i>Birmingham</i>	1	0	0
Oliphant, Thomas, <i>Edinburgh</i>	0	5	0	Yates, J., <i>ditto</i>	0	10	0
Ormond, C., <i>ditto</i>	0	5	0	Young, J. H., <i>Glasgow</i>	5	0	0
Paget, Miss, <i>Ipsstock</i>	0	10	0				
Paterson, Rev. Dr. Nathaniel, <i>Glasgow</i>	0	5	0				